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HISTORY OF HAMPTON COURT PALACE

IN TUDOR TIMES.



THE

HISTORY

OF

Hampton Court Palace

IN

TUDOR TIMES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY AUTOTYPES, ETCHINGS, ENGRAVINGS, MAPS, AND PLANS.

BY

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BARRISTER-AT-LAW,

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BY SPECIAL PERMISSION

Dedicated

TO

HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY

The Queen

WHO FIRST GRANTED FREE AND UNRESTRICTED

ADMISSION TO ALL HER SUBJECTS

TO VIEW

THE BEAUTIFUL HOME OF HER ANCESTORS

AT

Hampton Court.

Preface.

THE following pages aim at giving a complete history of Hampton Court Palace, from the earliest times to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The scope of the book is designed to embrace, not only a full narrative of all the events of which the old Tudor palace was the scene, but also an account of its artistic, architectural, and antiquarian features. As the want of such a work has been adverted to in the introductory remarks in the first chapter, it needs only to be observed here, that every effort has been made to render this history complete and accurate, by researches in the Record Office and the British Museum, and in the Bodleian, All Souls, and Ashmolean libraries, and by consulting, in almost every case, the ultimate historical authorities and original documents.

At the same time, the opportunities the author has enjoyed of investigating every nook and corner of the palace have, it is hoped, enabled him to invest many of the historical events that occurred within its walls, with a local "colouring," which may add something to their vividness and interest.

In a second volume, to be published in the course of a year or so, the annals of Hampton Court will be traced down to the present time; and to it will be appended a copious index to the whole work.

Of the illustrations, which are necessarily an important feature in a volume of this sort, five are autotypes executed by the Autotype Company, after negatives specially taken from the most famous historical pictures at Hampton Court, which happen, curiously enough, never to have been engraved before. The folding lithographic plates have been produced by Mr. Griggs, of Elm House, Peckham. The remaining illustrations have been drawn and engraved chiefly by the Typographic Etching Company, who have also executed most of the facsimiles from ancient contemporary drawings.

For the views of the Tennis Court, on pages 124 and 140, the author has to thank Mr. Julian Marshall, who has most kindly allowed him to make use of two of the plates from his "Annals of Tennis;" while for the engravings on pages 118, 182, 185, 203, 299, and 305 he is indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Murray, who has been so kind as to lend him the plates of Jesse's "Summer's Day at Hampton Court."

In conclusion, the author cannot refrain from availing himself of this opportunity to tender his best thanks to the Hon. Sir Spencer Ponsonby-Fane, K.C.B., Comptroller of Her Majesty's Household, who has afforded him every facility for pursuing his researches; and to Mr. Algernon B. Mitford, C.B., Secretary to Her Majesty's Board of Works, through whose energy and artistic taste so much has been recently done to repair and preserve the ancient fabric of Hampton Court Palace, and who has shown his appreciation

of its historic and architectural charms by taking a particular and personal interest in everything relating to it.

The author also wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. John Lessels, Surveyor of the Board, who has given him valuable aid and advice in many particulars, especially in the preparation of the plans and designs.

His thanks are no less due to Mrs. Heaton, Housekeeper of the Palace, and to Mr. Chart, the Clerk of the Works, who have most cordially rendered him every assistance in his investigations into the archæology of the palace.

HAMPTON COURT PALACE,
May, 1885.

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HISTORY

OF

HAMPTON COURT PALACE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY—HAMPTON COURT TILL THE TIME OF WOLSEY.

Introductory—The Tudor-Gothic Palace—Wren's State Apartments—Their Historical Interest and Reminiscences—Their Architecture—Situation, Boundaries, Surroundings, Natural Features, and Local Charms of Hampton Court—British, Roman, and Saxon Times—First Mention of Hampton—Domesday Book—Family of De St. Valery—Henry de St. Albans—The Knights Hospitallers of St. John—Prior Peter and Sabrina de Durham—Joan de Grey—Account of the Knights Hospitallers' Preceptory—Its Expenses—Elizabeth of York—A Present of Horses to Henry VIII.—Lease to Cardinal Wolsey—Advantages of Hampton Court—Why Wolsey chose it as a Residence—Its Extraordinary Salubrity.

AMONG the many places of interest that lie within easy reach of London, there is none, if we except Windsor Castle, that can be held to vie in historic and artistic charms with the Queen's magnificent palace at Hampton Court.

Nowhere else do we meet with attractions so uncommon,

and yet so varied, as those which are to be found within its precincts. There we may behold a building, which still remains, altered and restored though it has been, an almost perfect specimen of Tudor palatial architecture, side by side with the best example existing in England of the debased classic of Louis XIV., namely, Wren's State Apartments. There, too, we may feel, in a more than ordinary degree, amid its red-brick courts, solemn cloisters, picturesque gables, towers, turrets, embattled parapets, and mullioned and latticed windows, that indescribable charm which invests all ancient and historic places. While walking through Wolsey's courts we may recall the splendour and wealth of the mighty Cardinal; and while standing in Henry VIII.'s chapel, or his gorgeous Gothic hall, ponder on the many thrilling events enacted within the palace in the days of the Tudors and Stuarts—the birth of Edward VI. and the death of Jane Seymour; the marriages of Catherine Howard and Catherine Parr; the honeymoons of Philip of Spain and Mary Tudor, and of Charles II. and Catherine of Braganza; James I.'s conference with the Puritans; and Cromwell's sojourn here in almost regal splendour. And while passing through William III.'s splendid suite of rooms, with their painted ceilings, carved cornices, tapestried and oak-panelled walls, we may mentally people them again with the kings and queens, and statesmen and courtiers, who thronged them in the last century. Moreover, by the aid of an unbroken series of historical pictures and portraits, illustrative of three centuries of English history, we may recall the past with a vividness that no books can ever excite.

And then, when satiated with art and archæology, we can relax the mind by wandering beneath the shade of Queen Anne's stately avenues of chestnut and lime; strolling in the ever-delightful gardens where Wolsey paced in anxious meditation a few weeks before his fall; where Henry VIII.

made love to Anne Boleyn and to Catherine Howard; along the paths where Queen Elizabeth took her daily morning walk; past the tennis court where Charles I. played his last game on the day he escaped from the palace; beneath the bower where Queen Mary sat at needlework with her maids of honour; along the terrace to the bowling green and pavilions where George II. made love to Mrs. Howard and Mary Bellenden; under the lime-groves which sheltered from the sun Pope and Hervey, Swift and Addison, Walpole and Bolingbroke.

Yet, strange to say, though Hampton Court is so rich in historic associations, it has found no writer to investigate and chronicle its past. Anyone curious as to its history must make researches for himself, or be content with the scanty and often misleading information supplied in old county histories and topographical works.

In the same way its architecture, which is particularly characteristic of the Tudor period, and in many points most unique and instructive to the student of ancient manners, has to a great extent been overlooked in books where these topics are treated of. Such a work, for instance, as Turner's "Domestic Architecture," while it describes minutely numberless mediæval houses and their internal arrangement, and gives nearly a thousand illustrations, passes by Hampton Court with a few scant words. And yet many problems of domestic archæology which have been elaborately discussed could receive an immediate solution from some of its hitherto unknown and unexplored recesses. Pugin, likewise, though in his "Specimens of Gothic Architecture" he selected several excellent details from this palace, in his "Examples" gives none at all, notwithstanding the fact that he might have added an instructive chapter with examples of groining, of decorative ceilings, of panellings, and of moulding, which abound here.

Towards supplying these deficiencies the following pages are a small contribution.

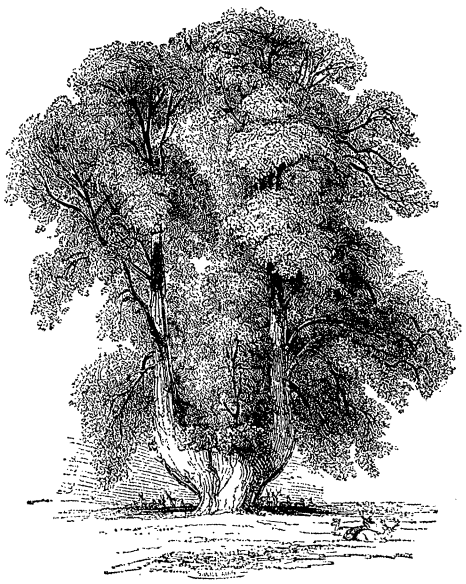
Hampton Court is pleasantly situated on the left or north bank of the river Thames, in the hundred of Spelthorne, in the county of Middlesex, about one mile distant from the villages of Hampton and Hampton Wick, about a mile and a half from the town of Kingston-on-Thames, and thirteen miles or so from London, reckoning in a westerly direction from Charing Cross. Its longitude is 0° 20′ west of Greenwich, and its latitude 51° 24′ north.

The boundaries of the ancient parish of Hampton appear to have been coterminous with those of the manor, which consists of about 3,000 acres, and of which Hampton Court forms a part. But in 1831, a portion of the original parish and manor was created into a separate ecclesiastical district, under the name of Hampton Wick; and in it was included a third of the domain of Hampton Court—namely, the Home Park, part of the gardens, and the eastern portion of the Bushey Park.

The whole domain, consisting now of about 1,900 acres, has been divided, probably ever since Saxon times, into two parts by the highway from Kingston and Hampton Wick to Hampton, which passes in front of the garden gates, within 250 yards of the palace. To the north of this road lies Bushey Park, which, with its appurtenances, is fringed on its western, northern, and eastern sides by the districts of Hampton, Teddington, and Hampton Wick; while to the south of the Kingston road lies the House or Home Park, bounded on its three other sides by the Thames, and the palace, with its various subsidiary buildings, courtyards, gardens, and grounds.

The natural features of the country in which Hampton

Court is situated, are not particularly striking. The ground is flat, with scarcely an undulation rising more than twenty feet above the dead level, and the soil, though light and gravelly, supports very little indigenous timber. Indeed, in



Great Elm Tree in the Home Park, known as "The Two Sisters," or "King Charles's Swing."

primæval times, the whole district of Hampton appears to have been an open track, forming part of the famous Hounslow Heath, to which it immediately adjoins; and the thorns in Bushey Park, with a few ancient gigantic elms and oaks in the Home Park, are the still surviving remnants or traces of its original state. One of the oaks, which is believed to be the largest in England, is as much as thirty-seven feet

in girth at the waist; and there is a magnificent elm, of which the smallest girth is twenty-three feet, and which is known as "The Two Sisters," or "King Charles's Swing."[1]

Nevertheless, the surrounding prospect must, from the earliest times, have been not unpleasing. The stretch of the river opposite Hampton Court—studded with eyots, and bordered with luxuriant meadows fringed with willows—is one of the prettiest in the lower Thames; and the stream, which is particularly clear and swift at this point, is always lively with boats and barges. When we add, that the view from the palace extends, across the river, over a wide expanse of

> Meads for ever crowned with flowers,[2]

clusters of trees, flowery hedgerows, and broad undulating heath-clad commons,—

> To Claremont's terraced height, and Esher's groves,
> By the soft windings of the silent Mole,—

and that in the distance can be traced the dim blue outline of the Surrey hills; while on another side appear the crowded gables and the picturesque old church-tower of Kingston, we have enumerated all the natural and local amenities of Hampton Court.

Of the annals of the place in the days of the ancient Britons, Romans, and Saxons, we can record nothing but a complete blank; nor have there been found here many traces

[1] The great oak tree, now but a bare trunk, is in the south-eastern part of the Home Park, near the Long Canal and the Farm Labourer's cottage. The measurement was taken at four feet from the ground. "The Two Sisters," which unfortunately has lately lost one of its stems, is on the north side of the Long Canal, nearly opposite the Stud-House. There are also some six other oaks and elms with girths ranging from twenty-six feet to twenty-one feet.

[2] Pope's description of the landscape in the *Rape of the Lock*.

or remains of those periods of history.[1] We may note, however, the discovery, a few years since, in the Thames, opposite the palace, of a canoe, fashioned out of the trunk of a tree, which was pronounced to have belonged to the Britons, and which is now in the British Museum; while to them, also, is ascribed the construction of a row of oak piles or stakes to be found in the bed of the river opposite the Water Gallery, which, like the famous Cowey stakes at Walton—the supposed site of Cæsar's passage of the Thames—may have had something to do with the British opposition to the Roman invasion, though, more probably, they are but the remains of an old fishing weir.[2] At the same spot, likewise, in the river, various articles, such as urns and coins, are said to have been found, and have been characterized, we know not with what accuracy, as "Roman remains." To Saxon times we owe, of course, the name *Hampton*, a compound of the words *Hame*, meaning home or place of shelter, and *Ton*, signifying an aggregate of houses environed and fortified with a hedge and ditch.[3]

The first mention of Hampton in any records is to be found in Domesday Book, compiled in 1086, where the manor of Hamntone in the county of Middlesex, and the hundred of Spelthorne, which in Saxon times had belonged to Earl Algar, is entered as held by Walter de St. Valerie or Valeric, and valued, including arable land, pasture for the cattle of the manor, and 3*s*. arising from the fisheries in the Thames, at £39, a very high value for Domesday.[4] In the time of

[1] At St. George's Hill, seven miles from Hampton Court, there are the remains of an ancient British stronghold, that have been designated, without much reason, as those of a Roman camp. Murray's *Environs of London*, p. 229.

[2] See *post*, p. 13.

[3] Blackie's *Etymological Geography*.

[4] *Domesday Book*, folio 130. See *Appendix A*. In Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, Walter Fitzother is given as the owner of Hamntone. This statement, which has been copied in every subsequent account of the manor of Hampton, is an error due to a misreading. A reference to the Facsimile of Domesday, edited by Col. Sir H.

Edward the Confessor it was valued at £40, of which the King received £20.

For a century and a half after this, the manor remained in the possession of the family of De Valery or De St. Valery; and, by researches among the rolls in the Record Office, we are enabled to give some particulars relating to their tenure of Hampton. In 1130 (the thirty-first year of the reign of Henry I.), we find that the King remitted to Reginald de St. Valery, the son or grandson of Walter de St. Valery, the sum of £10 10*s.* 0*d.* of his Danegelt, and £11 16*s.* 2*d.* of the "auxilium comitatus."[1] To this Reginald, succeeded his son and heir, Bernard, who was killed at the siege of Acre in 1190, and who had three sons: Reginald, Bernard, who succeeded his father and died without issue, and lastly, Thomas, who came into the estates on the death of his brother.[2] For some offence on the part of this Thomas de St. Valery—which, we have little doubt, was that of joining the confederation of barons against King John in order to place the French king on the throne, and of continuing in rebellion after the accession of Henry III.—all his lands were seized by Henry III. in 1217, after the battle of Lincoln; and the manor of Hampton would have been included in the general forfeiture, had it not been previously conveyed by Thomas to Henry de St. Albans, who was allowed by the King to remain in undisturbed possession.[3]

It was during the tenure of the St. Valerys that the rectory of Hampton was given to the priory of Takely in

James (1861), establishes this beyond doubt.

[1] *Pipe Rolls*, 31 Henry I., *Middlesex*.

[2] Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. i., p. 454.

[3] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, p. 385 *b.*, A.D. 1218. The translation of the Close Writ is as follows:—"It is commanded to Will. Fitz Elias and Roger le Buc to permit Henry de St. Albans to have his land at Hampton in peace, which he has by the gift of Thomas de St. Valery, notwithstanding that the Lord the King ordered them to take into the King's hands all the lands of the said Thomas."

Essex, a cell of the abbey of St. Valery in Picardy, which thus became possessor of the great tithes and patron of the living. The priory, however, was seized as a priory alien by the three Edwards successively, and finally dissolved by Richard II. at the end of the fourteenth century,[1] and on its dissolution the abbot, doubtless on compulsion from the King, gave the rectory with the advowson of the vicarage as an endowment to the warden and scholars of Winchester College, which had recently been founded.[2]

Soon after the time when Henry de St. Albans became owner of the manor of Hampton, it would seem that he gave it, lent it, or let it to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, who appear to have had here, as early as the end of the twelfth century, a preceptory of some sisters of their Order, before they were all removed to Minchin Buckland in Somersetshire in 1180;[3] and who were, at any rate by the middle of the thirteenth century, in possession of the whole manor of Hampton.[4] This is proved from the Middlesex Assize Rolls of the year 1293, in which it is averred that the then prior, Peter, was sued by Sabrina de Dunolm (Durham),

[1] During the twenty-three years' sequestration under Edward III., four vicars of Hampton in succession owed their appointments to the Crown. The priory of Takely exercised its right as rector for the last time in 1362, when, on August 10th, it presented Richard Mansell to the vicarage. Ripley's *History of Hampton*, p. 38.

[2] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. i., p. 622; and Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, who cites the King's licence, *Cart. Aut.*; Augmentation Office, E. 64; Deed of Alienation, E. 63. Winchester College presented altogether twenty vicars to Hampton, till Henry VIII. acquired the advowson in 1544.

[3] The sisters formerly resided in the preceptories apparently with the brothers. Buckland was given by the King to the Order, on condition of all the female members being removed thither. Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, ed. Nasmith; *Middlesex*, ii., p. 311, and *Somersetshire*, x. "Sister Joanna" was the lady who came from "Hamton in Middlesex, near Kyngeston." See p. 9 of Mr. Th. Hugo's interesting *History of Mynchin Buckland Priory and Preceptory*.

[4] Assize Rolls, Middlesex. 22 Edw. I. No. 6, *dorso*. Pleas of Assize before John de Berewyk and his companions, Justices Itinerant at Stone-Cross (apud Crucem Lapideam), in co. Middlesex.

as granddaughter and heiress of Henry de St. Albans, for the manor of Hampton, in which, she declared, "the said Peter had no entry except by a disseisin, which Terric Tryers, formerly prior, his predecessor, had unjustly made of her grandfather. The prior, however, pleaded that the said Henry, her grandfather, was not in seisin of the manor within the limit of time of a writ of entry," and appealed to a jury. The case, nevertheless, was compromised by the payment to Sabrina of 110 marks, the jury finding that "the said prior and his predecessors had held the said manor for fifty years or more." The Hospitallers were thus confirmed in their possession, however they may have originally come by it.

Nevertheless, only six years after this, namely, in 1300, Joan, the widow of Sir Robert de Grey,[1] described as of the manors of Raynham in the county of Essex, and of Hampton in the county of Middlesex, acknowledged the manor of Hampton to be the right of William de Tothale, Prior of the Knights Hospitallers in England, and of his church; and for this surrender received the manor of Shobington in Bucks,[2] for her life.

This gives us ground for suspecting that Joan Lady de Grey laid claim to Hampton as coheiress of Henry de St. Albans with her sister, Sabrina de Durham, and that the grant to her of a life-interest in Shobington was an acknowledgment of her share. That their claims, at any rate, were substantial ones, is clear from the value of the fines quoted: and we may also observe that Prior Peter does not attempt to defend the suit on its merits, but defeats Sabrina on a

[1] Robert de Grey was the head of the baronial house of Grey of Rotherfield, co. Oxon. Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. ii., p. 723, and see next note.

[2] Feet of Fines. Divers counties. No. 51, 28 Edw. I. In 4 Edw. III. John de Grey, grandson of the above Robert, obtained a charter of free warren for his lordship of Shobington, co. Bucks, which identifies the branch of the Greys to which Robert belonged.

technical point, and then, fearing a writ of right, takes the opportunity of his first success against her to compromise the claim.

As to the exact way in which the Hospitallers first came into possession of the manor, it is now not easy to divine. Perhaps Henry de St. Albans may have borrowed money from the Knights of St. John, and given the manor as security, for a certain or indefinite number of years, to repay the debt. This was not an uncommon custom at that period, and we can well conceive that a powerful corporation, like the Hospitallers, would very likely keep altogether a manor thus let to them to farm, more especially as Henry died early, leaving his heir a minor, whose daughters and heiresses may also have been infants when the term expired.

However this may be, it must be remembered, on the other hand, that the ecclesiastical corporations had often to fight for their possessions, on account of the undue influence through which they usually acquired them, the unpopularity with which they were regarded, and the jealousy which their enormous wealth excited. It is just possible, therefore, though by no means likely, that the title of the Hospitallers to the manor of Hampton was indefeasible; and that they compromised the claims of the heiresses of Henry de St. Albans from motives of prudence, or some other cause.

But, at any rate, the early history of the manor of Hampton is now tolerably clear, and we are able to correct the erroneous statement of Dugdale,[1] who says that Lady Joan de Grey, widow of Sir Robert de Grey, gave the manor of Hampton, near Kingston, with all its appurtenances, to the

[1] The entry in the *Monasticon* is (vol. vi., p. 832):—"Domina Johanna de Gray uxor quondam Roberti de Gray, militis, dedit manerium de Hampton, juxta Kingston, cum omnibus pertinentibus, et obiit secundo die octobris MCCXII." It seems most likely that the date is misprinted, and that it ought to be MCCCXII.

Knights Hospitallers, and died in the year 1212—though the discrepancy of the dates indeed may perhaps be, to a certain extent, reconciled by supposing 1212 to be a typographic error for 1312.

Henceforth the Knights Hospitallers were established in unquestioned possession of their property, and, by several further gifts, it was soon considerably augmented. For instance, Walter Wyk and Matilda his wife gave them, in 1303, a messuage, with a hundred acres of arable land and one acre of meadow, described as being at Hampton in Middlesex, and valued at 20*s.* a year.[1] Christiana Haiwode likewise presented them with sixty acres of land, with appurtenances, in Hampton and the Wike (Hampton Wick [2]). In this way the Hospitallers were, by the beginning of the fourteenth century, the owners of a very valuable manor at Hampton.

The Order was at this time in the heyday of its prosperity and power, and possessed enormous property in every country in Europe, and not least in England, where their lands were farmed, and money amassed, to be paid into the exchequer for the general purposes of the ruling body. From the report of the Prior in England to the Grand Master in the year 1338, we can gather some information as to what was its condition at that time.[3]

There was then a "camera," or preceptory, at Hampton, with a small mansion or manor-house (probably on the site

[1] *Calendarium Inquisitionum post mortem, sive Escætarum*, vol. i., p. 185, No. 149 (31 Edw. I.).

[2] Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi., p. 832. The term Wike or *wick* is, of course, the Latin vicus (village); and it is curious to find the use of this word locally surviving even to the present day, not only as a suffix distinguishing one part of Hampton parish from another, but as a popular equivalent for the word village, the expressions "going to the Wick," and "living at the Wick," being constantly heard among the older inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

[3] Published by the Camden Society, with a valuable introduction by J. M. Kemble, M.A.

of the present palace), and a garden, and a dove-cote. With the pasture and arable land (of which there was altogether nearly a thousand acres, valued at from 6*d.* to 2*d.* an acre per annum), and farms, customs, assessed rent, profit on the keep of 2,000 sheep (yielding about six sacks of wool each, valued in all at £24), money commutation for the labour services of serfs, and other items, it yielded an annual amount of £83 13*s.* 10*d.* From this total, however, had to be deducted the expenses of the house: for the brother Knight-Hospitaller in charge; for Robert Coltman, the "Corrodarius" of the Lord the King—that is, a person who was pensioned upon the house by his Majesty's order; for one chaplain performing Divine service in the chapel, and for the other members of the establishment, as well as for "supervenientes" or supernumeraries, "because the Duke of Cornwall lives near at hand." This refers to the extra expense the house was put to, in entertaining chance strangers going or coming from the Black Prince's residence, possibly at Sheen, but more probably at Kennington or Kempton, now famous for its racecourse, where a royal palace then existed, about a mile from Hampton.[1]

The general expenses of the house were such as the cost of baking bread, of brewing beer, of meat, fish, and other necessaries for the kitchen, and the cost of a robe and mantle for a brother, and of the dresses and wages of the Corrodarius, reaper, chamberlain, claviger or steward, doorkeeper, and baker, and the stipend of the chaplain—£1 a year. Among them also was a charge of 20*s.* a year "pro emendatione et sustentatione gurgitis," which we take to refer to the repair and maintenance of Hampton weir, which was formed by the Order[2] for placing traps for the catching of fish, and farmed at a rent of £6. Another

[1] Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, p. 271.

[2] Probably opposite the Water Gallery; see *ante*, p. 7, and *post*, p. 17.

charge on the revenue was a composition of 68*s.* 4*d.* to the vicar of Hampton, "made of old for tithe."

Altogether these expenses amounted to £30 7*s.* 2*d.*, which left a balance of £53 6*s.* 8*d.* to be paid into the exchequer of the Knights Hospitallers. It will be apparent from these particulars that the establishment, though a typical one, must have been on a small scale, and maintained for little more than managing the property and collecting the rents.

For a hundred and sixty years or so after this, we hear nothing further of the manor of Hampton. But the house was still inhabited by the Order in the year 1503, when Elizabeth of York went there from Richmond Palace, as we gather from her privy purse expenses, to make a retreat, and pray for a happy delivery, just a month before she died in childbed. She stayed at the manor-house for about a week, and then returned to Richmond by barge. The entries in her privy purse are as follow: —

Item, to Lewes Waltier the Queenes bargeman for conveying the Queene in a grete bote from Richemount to Hampton Court with 12 rowers every rower taking 8^{d} & the master 16^{d}

Item, to the same Lewes for conveying the Queenes grace & hure ladys in a grete bote with 8 rowers the 14th day of Janyvere from Hampton Courte to Richmond—

Item, in rewarde to a man that kepte the saide bote in Hampton Courte by the space of 8 dayes at 2^{d} the day—16^{d} [1]

That this was by no means a solitary instance of the royal family visiting Hampton Court at this period, we may presume from a letter of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, to Wolsey, in which he refers to Henry VII. having used it as a "cell" —that is, a kind of subsidiary house—to his neighbouring palace of Richmond.[2]

[1] Nicolas' *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, pp. 94, 95.

[2] See *post*, page 34.

We may observe here that long before the place was acquired by Wolsey it was known by the name of "Hampton Court;" and it is therefore incorrect to suppose, as did Norden, the topographer, in Queen Elizabeth's time, and as persons occasionally do now, that "the word Court is hereunto added in regard of the majestie and princely bewtie thereof, fit for none but for a King or Queene, whose residence in any place draweth a Princely assembly."[1] The word, in truth, has the same origin and meaning as in the names Ember Court, Pendle Court, Sayes Court, App's Court, and signifies, in distinction to the whole manor, that portion of it which was retained by the lord of the manor for his own use, and called the demesne lands, and in which was situated the manor-house or capital mansion of the manor. In the case of Hampton, as fully a half of the whole area of the manor consisted of demesne land, it was not unnatural that the name of so important a part should come to be applied to the remaining and dependent portion as well, so that we accordingly find the whole manor of Hampton henceforth usually called the "Manor of Hampton Court."

The next date in the history of Hampton Court is 1514, on the 20th of March of which year, Henry visited the manor in company with Katharine of Arragon, perhaps with the object of inspecting the property which his minister, Wolsey, was about to acquire.[2] The occasion is commemorated in a despatch,[3] preserved among the Venetian archives, from one Giovanni Ratto to the Marquis of Mantua. Ratto had been commissioned by the marquis to present the King with some magnificent horses, and he took the opportunity of this visit to do so. Henry, who was a keen horseman, viewed with unrestrained delight their splendid action and

[1] *Speculum Britanniæ*, p. 25.

[2] The term of Wolsey's tenancy began on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, June 24th, 1514. See Appendix B.

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. ii., No. 385.

evolutions, and declared that "had the marquis given him a kingdom, he could not have been more delighted." He went from one nobleman to another, saying, "What think you of these mares? They were sent to me by my cousin, the Marquis of Mantua." The Queen was present during this conversation; so Ratto put the bright bay through his paces in the Spanish fashion, exhibiting the horse to the admiration of everybody. The King then went up to the horse and patted it, saying, "So ho, my minion." He had reason to be pleased with his present, for it was a Mantuan "barb," or race-horse, for which the owner had been offered his weight in gold, but preferred making a present of it to the King of England. Henry wrote, soon afterwards, to thank him for "the most beautiful, high bred, and surpassing steeds just given to us," and sent him some English horses in return.[1]

A little later, in the same year, 1514, namely, on Midsummer day, by an indenture executed on the 11th of January of the following year, the manor of Hampton Court, with all its appurtenances, was leased by the prior, Sir Thomas Docwra, and his brethren Knights of the Hospital of St. John, to "the most Rev. Father in God Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York," for a term of ninety-nine years, at a rent of £50 per annum. A contemporary copy of the lease is still extant in the chartulary of the priory in the British Museum,[2] and confirms our surmise that there was a manor-house on the site of the present palace previous to its acquisition by Wolsey,[3] though it was evidently of small dimensions, and very rudely furnished. Thus in the hall

[1] Halliwell's *Letters of the Kings of England*, vol. i., p. 229, &c. July 16th and Aug. 18th.

[2] *Cott. MSS. Claudius*, E. vi., folio 137. In an earlier folio, *i.e.* 46, is a similar lease, dated 1505, of the same premises, at a like rent and for the same term, to Giles Lord Daubeny. Why or how this lease was terminated does not appear.

[3] No traces of it, however, have ever been discovered.

there were only a few forms, two tables, and a cupboard; the kitchen, parlour, and tower chamber were equally destitute of valuables; and the sacred vessels in the chapel were all of lead or pewter. Out of the annual rent of £50 the lessees were to have an allowance of £4 13*s.* 4*d.* "towards and for the exhibition of a priest for to minister divine service within the chapel of the said manor." And the prior and brethren of St. John were also to grant, yearly, four loads of wood and timber "able for piles for the reparation and sustentation of the weir called Hampton Weir,[1] from St. John's Wood." On Wolsey's part, besides the usual covenants to repair, it was agreed that he and his assignees should, at the expiration of the term, leave to the prior and his successors "a thousand couple of conies in the warren of the said manor, or else for every couple that shall want, 4*d.*"[2]

Several motives probably weighed with Wolsey in fixing on Hampton Court as a residence. In the first place, he was in need of a secluded country place, within easy access of London, whither he could withdraw occasionally for rest and quiet, without being too far from the centre of affairs—as he would certainly have been, had he retired to his diocesan palaces of York, Lincoln, or Durham. At the same time he was anxious to select a place where his health, which suffered much from the fogs and smoke of London, might be recruited in fresh and pure air. We may presume, too, that he was not regardless of the advantage attaching to a site on the banks of the Thames, in days when, on account of the badness and danger of the roads, no route was so safe, convenient, and expeditious as the "silent highway" of a river.

[1] See *ante*, pp. 7 and 13. The present weir and lock between East Moulsey and Hampton Court did not exist till after the middle of last century. See Binnel's *Thames*, p. 160.

[2] The lease is printed in full in Appendix B.

Indeed it would take Wolsey scarcely more time to be rowed down, by eight stout oarsmen, from Hampton Court to the stairs of his palace at Whitehall, than it now takes one to go up to Waterloo Station by the South Western trains.

With these objects in view, he is declared by the legend of the parish,[1] to have "employed the most eminent physicians in England, and even called in the aid of doctors from Padua, to select the most healthy spot within twenty miles of London." The decision of the faculty was emphatically in favour of Hampton Court, on account of its "extraordinary salubrity;" and Wolsey, in accordance with their advice, forthwith proceeded to treat for a lease of the manor.

Whether this tradition be founded on fact or not, it would be impossible now to decide; but certainly the healthiness of Hampton Court at the present day is an unquestioned fact, nor has anything ever happened, during the last three hundred and seventy years, to belie the favourable opinion of Wolsey's doctors. The building, though the ground floor is scarcely ten feet above the average level of the river, is wonderfully free from damp, while the air, though sometimes foggy, is never unwholesome. Much of this is doubtless due to the gravelly nature of the soil, the absence of moist vegetation,[2] and the proximity of the running stream of the river, which acts as a drain to carry off all surface water and impurities.

[1] See old guides to Hampton Court.

[2] It is a common remark among those who are acquainted with Hampton Court, that there are few places where "the fall of the leaf" is less noticed.

CHAPTER II.

CARDINAL WOLSEY'S EARLY DAYS AT HAMPTON COURT.

Wolsey's Greatness, Wealth, and Splendour—His universal Genius—"My Lord Cardinal's Works"—The Parks—The Moat—His Gardens—His Sanitary Arrangements—The Great Sewer—Water brought from Coombe Wood at enormous Cost—His Architect and Clerk of the Works—The West Front—The Great Gate-house—His Banquets to Henry VIII. and Katharine of Arragon, and to the Ambassadors—Masques, and Mummeries, and Balls—He visits Esher Place.

WOLSEY had no sooner entered into possession of Hampton Court, than he began with characteristic energy to plan the erection of a vast and sumptuous edifice, commensurate with the dignity and wealth he had just attained to. He was then on the threshold of his career of greatness, and already receiving enormous revenues. Besides his office of Grand Almoner, he had been appointed within a year to three several bishoprics—that of Lincoln, that of Tournay in France, and the archbishopric of York; and in quick succession followed the abbey of St. Albans *in commendam* and the bishopric of Durham (though he surrendered Durham soon after into the King's hand to take the bishopric of Winchester instead), and the bishoprics of Bath, Wor-

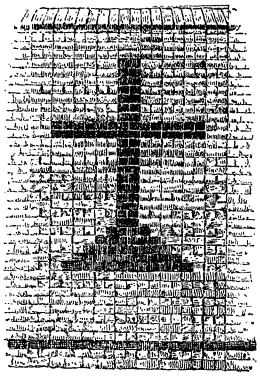
cester, and Hereford *in farm*.[1] To these and many minor dignities were added those of Cardinal on the 10th of September, 1515, of the Lord Chancellorship of England on the 22nd of December in the same year, and of a Legate à latere in 1518. And yet amid the multifarious labours that these offices entailed upon him, he found time to supervise everything relating to his buildings and his household. No matter was too insignificant, no detail too trivial, not to come within the grasp of his all-reaching intellect.

Though engaged till midday in the administration of justice in Westminster Hall, and occupied the rest of the day in carrying on the whole government of the kingdom, receiving foreign ambassadors, reading despatches, writing instructions to his agents abroad, and retaining in his mind the whole complex thread of continental politics, we find him superintending the most minute details in regard to the works at Hampton Court, besides doing the same for his school at Ipswich, his college at Oxford, and his other palace at Whitehall. He was resolved to have a country residence, befitting the dignity of his high station as a prince of the Church, and he spared no effort for this object. Hundreds of artificers, of all sorts, were daily engaged on "my Lord Cardinal's works" in the parks, gardens, and buildings, which were pushed on with the greatest speed possible.

The old manor-house already stood in the midst of an extensive domain of pasture land, consisting of some two thousand acres All this he proceeded to convert into two parks, fencing them partly with paling, and partly enclosing them with a stout red-brick buttressed wall, a great part of which remains to this day, and may be identified by its deep crimson colour, toned here and there with chequered lines of black burnt bricks. There may be found, too, inserted

[1] Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, vol. i., p. 32, Singer's ed., 1825.

in this wall of Wolsey's, in the Kingston road near the Paddock, a curious device of these black bricks, disposed in the form of a cross, evidently an allusion to his ecclesiastical character; and similar crosses may be observed on an old tower, standing near a piece of ground which was formerly the Cardinal's orchard, and on one of the turrets in the Clock Court. At the same time he surrounded the house and gardens with a great moat [1]—a precaution which is noticeable,



Cardinal Wolsey's Cross of Black Bricks in the Red Brick Wall on the Kingston Road.

as the mediæval custom of so defending dwelling places had generally died out, since the Wars of the Roses, and Wolsey's moat here must have been one of the last made. It remained as a prominent feature in front of the palace till the time of William III., and traces of it still exist on the north side of the palace.

His gardens, also, were to be an appanage in every way worthy of the princely residence he was projecting. Many curious entries for wages of gardeners, and for spades,

[1] Brewer's *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., p. 1427.

shovels, barrows, seeds, and plants, "for the use of my Lordes garthinges at Hampton Courte," occur in the original bills, which are still preserved in the Record Office, and which, though not so copious as they are afterwards, are sufficient to show the large scale on which the works were being carried on.[1] One item is for "Twixs to bind therber," that is, the arbour, where he loved to sit of an evening, saying his office. Among a mass of other entries we extract the following:—

Item paid to Agnes —? for 4 *days wedinge in my lorde's garthinge and orcharch at* 3^d *the day*—12^d
Item for a tubb to water th'erbs 8^d
Item for 7 *basketts of strawberes* 3^s 7^d[2]

Nor did the Cardinal neglect the sanitary arrangements of his house. Every part of the building was carefully drained, and the rain-water and other refuse was carried off by great brick sewers, 3 feet wide and 5 feet high, into the Thames. So excellent, in truth, was his system of drainage, that it was not found necessary to interfere with or supersede it till the year 1871, when, in compliance with the requirements of the Thames Conservancy Board, a new system, withdrawing the outfall from the river, was carried out.

Another aim of the Cardinal's was to secure, for the use of himself and his household, the purest water that was to be had anywhere in the vicinity; for though people in these enlightened days are content to drink the "diluted sewage" of the Thames, Wolsey, living in the benighted times of the Tudors, would by no means tolerate its then comparatively innocuous waters. With the object, accordingly, of procuring the best possible supply, the springs at Coombe Hill, a spot about three miles distant from Hampton Court, were

[1] *Chapter House Accounts*, C $\frac{5}{5}$, folios 689, &c.
[2] Do., 762, &c.

collected in several conduits or water-houses,[1] whence the water was conveyed, in a double set of strong leaden pipes, from Coombe to Surbiton, under the Hogsmill River (a small tributary of the Thames), and then under the Thames above

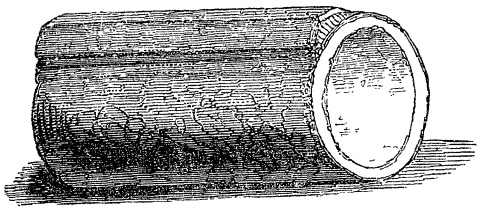


Water House at Coombe.

Kingston Bridge, and so through the Home Park to the

[1] The conduits are in good working order; but the supply, though still amply sufficient for the whole palace, was discontinued in 1876, partly on account of the water being condemned through the admixture of sewage from a recently erected farm near the source, and partly on account of the breaking of the main, in the bed of the river, by the anchor of a barge—an accident which had several times occurred before. The whole of the water supply to Hampton Court is now drawn from a branch of the river Colne, which is called the Longford or King's river, and which was regulated into a broad stream by Charles I. The water for drinking purposes is filtered at a pumping station at New Hampton, and conveyed in separate pipes to the palace.

palace.[1] The leaden pipes as originally laid down were moulded in lengths of 25 feet each, the seaming or joint being effected, as shown in the annexed cut, by a thick overlaying of the metal. The diameter of each pipe is about two inches and a half, the thickness is half an inch, and the amount of lead used must have been about two hundred and fifty tons,[2] which, with the labour in laying them down, would give a cost of something like £50,000.[3] We find, also, that there were in several parts of the palace "baynes," or baths,[4] and other conveniences[5]—facts which go to modify



Cardinal Wolsey's Leaden Water-pipe.

the too common notion that cleanliness is entirely a modern virtue, and was little thought of in mediæval times.

To these wise precautions, as much, perhaps, as to the natural salubrity of the locality, we may ascribe the immunity from any serious epidemic, which Hampton Court has enjoyed

[1] Aubrey's *History of Surrey*, vol. i., pp. 47, 48. The course of the pipes, which is traced on the Ordnance Map, crosses the Thames half a mile, less a hundred yards, south of the bridge, and enters the park just north of a small house by the river side, called "The Swiss Cottage."

[2] The weight of the main is about 15 lbs. to the foot lineal.

[3] Lead a few years ago was priced at £20 a ton, which, allowing for the then value of money, gives us £50,000 as the present value of all the lead used in the water-course in Wolsey's time.

[4] *Chapter House Accounts*, C $\frac{6}{10}$.

[5] One item relates to 15 jakes, in one part of the palace; and all the principal apartments had private ones belonging to them.

during the last three hundred and seventy years, when the sweating sickness, the plague, small-pox, and scarlet fever have been fiercely raging around.

All this, however, was only subsidiary to the main concern of the building of the palace itself, which was planned on a most extensive scale. As to who was Wolsey's architect we can arrive at no certain determination. Mention is made, in the old records, of several persons, who discharged various important functions in regard to the works at Hampton Court; but, at this period, the name of no one occurs, who could be fixed on as holding the office of designer or architect. In an old Latin parchment, indeed, we read of payments being made for works, "workmen, artificers, timber, brick, ironwork, plaster," &c., and for "making ponds and a moat at Hampton Court, and for pales round the park there," by "James Bettes, master of the works of Thomas, Cardinal of York, ... as appears by the book of Nicholas Townley, clerk comptroller of the same works."[1] And elsewhere[2] we find references to "Master Laurence Stubbes,[3] servant to the Right Rev. Father in God, Thomas, Archbishop of York," who acted as his paymaster of the works here at any rate in the years 1515 and 1516. But these posts are apparently all quite distinct from that of architect. Later on, however,[4] we shall find that there is some likelihood that a Mr. Williams, a priest, was, in his capacity of surveyor of the works, responsible for much of the artistic detail of the Cardinal's palace. But, whoever was the designer, there can be no question as to the skill and taste with which the building was carried out. The general plan and scope of the building were, no doubt, determined by the Cardinal himself, whose style was so

[1] Brewer's *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., p. 1427.

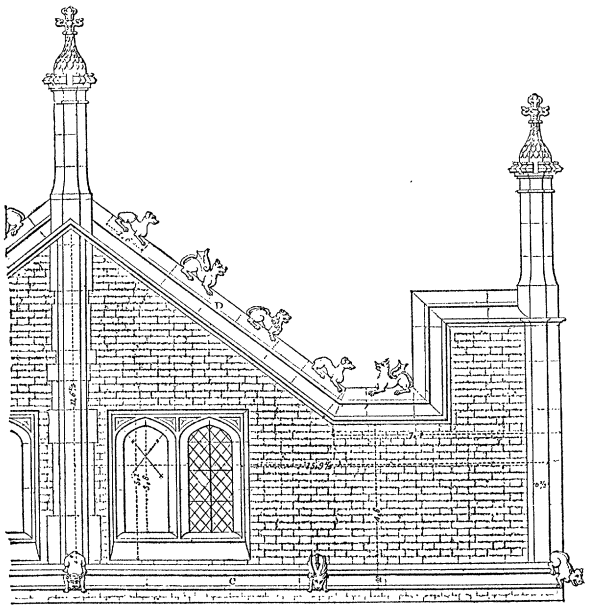
[2] Do., No. 1369; and also *Chapter House Accounts*, $C\frac{5}{9}$, folio 687, &c.

[3] For other particulars relating to Stubbes, see Brewer, vol. vi., No. 196, and vol. vii., App., No. 15.

[4] See Chapter XII., p. 156.

distinct, both in this palace and in his other edifices, from the ordinary ecclesiastical Gothic, as to be often designated by the term "The Wolsey Architecture." [1]

The material selected was red brick, stone being employed for the windows, the doorways, the copings of the parapets and turrets, the string courses, and the various ornamental



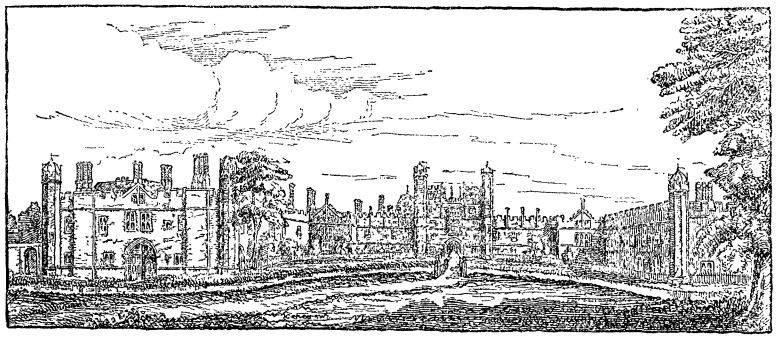
Gable. From Wolsey's West Front.

details—such as pinnacles, gargoyles, and heraldic beasts, on gables and elsewhere.

The first portion taken in hand was, doubtless, the great west front of the building, which extends, with its two wings, from north to south, 400 feet. This façade, though only two storeys in height, has considerable beauty about it, and

[1] Brayley's *Graphic Illustration*, p. 14.

the picturesque turrets at the angles of the building, the embrasured parapet, the chimneys of carved and twisted brick, the graceful gables with their gargoyles and pinnacles, and the varied mullioned windows, form an admirable specimen of Tudor domestic architecture. It still preserves much of the charm of old work, although it has frequently been subjected to repairs and alterations; but the effect is marred by the absence from the numerous turrets of the leaden cupolas (or "types," to use the correct old English

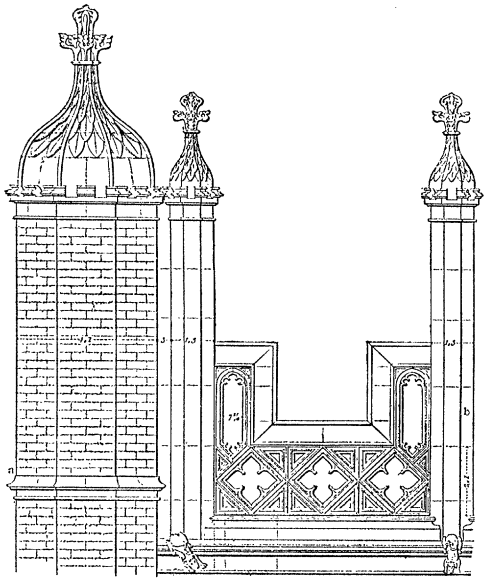


West Front of Wolsey's Palace.

term) which, with their crockets, pinnacles, and gilded vanes, formerly gave so uniquely picturesque an appearance to this part of the building. These are shown replaced in the accompanying sketch; in which, also, the great central gate-house is restored as finished by Wolsey, and the course of the old moat indicated. A separate sketch and further account of the grand old gate-house, which lent dignity to this otherwise somewhat mean frontage, are given later on.[1] Here we would draw attention to the light and airy parapet of perforated tracery above the oriel window, and to the graceful form of the window itself.

[1] See page 58, and also Chapter XVIII.

An especially striking feature in Wolsey's west front, as in other parts of the Tudor building, is the delicately moulded forms of the chimney shafts, which rise in variously grouped clusters, like slender turrets, above the battlements and gables. They are all of red brick, constructed on many

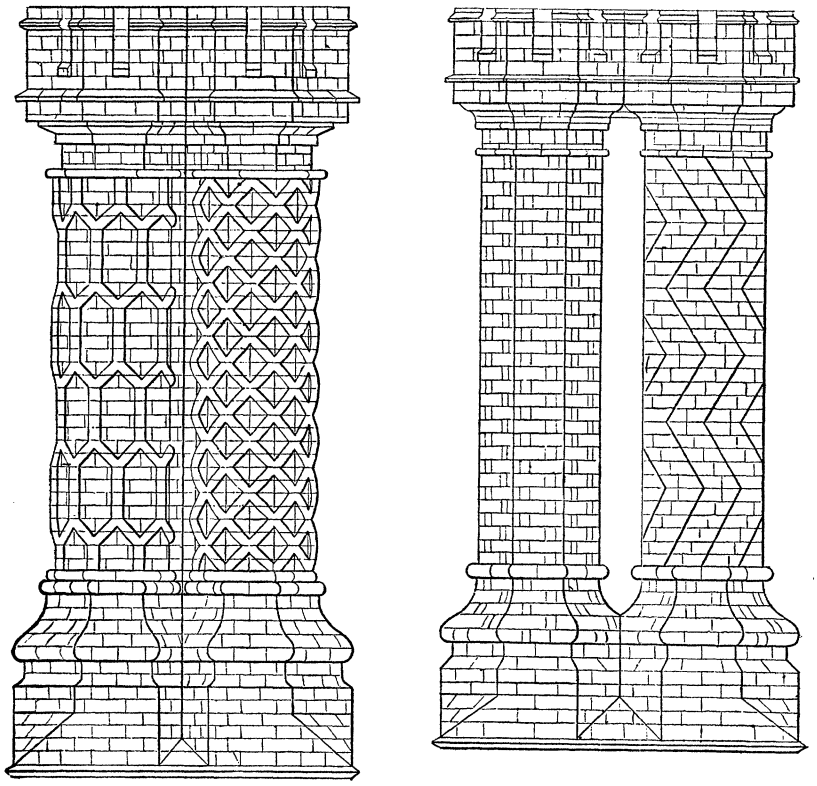


Part of the Parapet above the Oriel Window in Wolsey's Great Gatehouse.

varieties of plan, and wrought and rubbed, with the greatest nicety, into different decorative patterns. Some are circular, some square (but set diagonally), and some octagonal; and they are grouped together in twos or fours, with their shafts sometimes carried up solid, and sometimes separate.[1]

[1] Nearly all the existing chimneys are modern restorations, but they are exact copies of the originals. An item for making some is given in Appendix F. iii. 1.

Another charm is the deep crimson of the bricks, approximating often to a rich purple, which contrasts favourably with the staring scarlet of modern red brickwork. This is



Chimneys of Wolsey's Palace.

particularly the case in the south or right-hand wing, one of the most picturesque portions of the whole palace,[1] of which a view will subsequently be given.

[1] The pleasing effect of the old brick- work at Hampton Court is in a great

As to the use to which this part of Wolsey's palace was put, it appears to have been intended entirely for the suites of guest chambers, which were always in readiness to receive friends and strangers.

The old bills, which we have already spoken of, contain many entries relating to these works, giving the names and wages of all the labourers, masons, bricklayers, carpenters, tilers, &c., and detailing the purchase of material, such as chalk from Taplow and Windsor, timber from Cobham Park, stone from Reigate; and the charges for staybars of iron for windows, &c. One entry may be given in full:

Item to Athony, clokmaker of Westminster for repairing of the cloke at Hampton Court, fylinge the wheels & other matters w^t^ setting upe of the same there in the frame—6^s^ 8^d^.[1]

By the month of May, 1516, the building had so far advanced that Wolsey was able to receive the King and Queen at dinner in his new abode.[2] This was a time when Henry delighted to honour with his company his "awne goode Cardinall," as he termed him, at pleasant little entertainments, when he could throw off the restraints of royalty, and join in unconventional intercourse with his personal friends. During dinner or supper the minstrels usually played music, and afterwards the King and a few intimate friends took part in a masquerade or an impromptu dance. Sometimes he "would oblige the company with a song," accompanying himself on the harpsichord or lute. At other times, the King would visit the Cardinal in state accompanied by his whole court. "And when it pleased the King's

measure due to the different colours of the bricks, varying from a light red to a purple brown. On the contrary, the mechanically made bricks of the present day are all scrupulously given exactly the same tint.

[1] *Chapter House Accounts*, C $\frac{5}{9}$, folios 757.

[2] Brewer's *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., p. 561, No. 1935; and *State Papers, Venetian*, vol. iii., No. 130, Oct. 18th, 1520.

majesty," says Cavendish, "for his recreation, to repair unto the Cardinal's house, as he did divers times in the year, there wanted no preparation or goodly furniture with viands of the finest sort, that could be gotten for money or friendship. Such pleasures were then devised for the King's comfort and consolation as might be invented or imagined. Banquets were set forth, masques, and mummeries in so gorgeous a sort, and costly manner, that it was a heaven to behold. There wanted no dames, nor damoselles, meet or apt to dance with the masquers, or to garnish the place for that time, with other goodly disports. Then was there all kinds of music and harmony set forth, with excellent voices both of men and children. I have seen the King come suddenly thither in a masque with a dozen masquers all in garments like shepherds, made of fine cloth of gold, and fine satin paned and caps of the same, with vizors of good proportion and physiognomy; their hairs and beards either of fine gold wire or of silver, or else of black silk, having sixteen torchbearers besides three drums, and other persons attending them, with visors, clothed all in satin, of the same colour."[1]

And he goes on to tell how they startled, with the noise of guns, the Cardinal and his guests, "who mused what it should mean coming so suddenly they sitting quiet at a solemn banquet," and how he sent his attendants with torches and drums and fifes to receive them; and how he entertained them as strangers, and they played at dice with the ladies; and how Wolsey mistook which was the King, and went up to one of the gentlemen of the court, hat in hand. On which, "the King hearing and perceiving the Cardinal so deceived in his estimation and choice could not forbear laughing, but pulled down his visor, and dashed out such a pleasant countenance and cheer, that all the noble estates

[1] *Life of Wolsey*, vol. i., p. 49, Singer's ed., 1825.

there assembled, perceiving the King among them, rejoiced very much."

These were the earlier days of Henry's reign, when he conceived nothing but implicit trust and respect for his faithful Wolsey, and regarded Katharine with nothing but tender



The Master Carpenter's Court, on the North Side of the First Court of Wolsey's Palace.

love, before the bright black eyes of Mistress Anne Boleyn had come to fling discord and suspicion between them. No one, who was acquainted with the "vie intime" of Henry at this time, could have imagined, for a moment, that unbridled passion and despotic power could effect so great a change, as that wrought in him in his later years.

Besides Wolsey's more private entertainments, he frequently gave splendid banquets to the foreign ambassadors, and now and then to any royal guest who might be in England. On these occasions, and at the King's own banquets, he was always seated in the centre of the high table among the most distinguished guests, with a lady on each side of him. Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador, who was invited to one of them, declares that, "the like of it was never given either by Cleopatra or Caligula; the whole banqueting hall being decorated with huge vases of gold and silver, that I fancied myself in the tower of Chosroes, where that monarch caused divine honours to be paid to him."[1] After dinner came the masquerades and mummeries, which were nowhere more splendid than at the Cardinal's palaces. The general company awaited the masquers in the Withdrawing Chamber, into which the procession advanced, headed by the minstrels, and followed by the ladies and gentlemen, among whom was sure to be the King, all attired in rich fantastic costumes, and attended by knights bearing torches. At one of the Cardinal's banquets there were as many as "thirty-six masquers disguised, all in one suite of fine green satin, all over covered with cloth of gold, undertied together with laces of gold, and masking hoods on their heads: the ladies had tyers made of braids of damask gold, with long hairs of white gold. All these masquers danced at one time, and after they had danced they put off their vizors, and then they were all known."[2] Then they were served with a supper of "countless dishes of confections and other delicacies. Having gratified their palates, they then regaled their eyes and hands; large bowls, filled with ducats and dice, being placed on the table for such as liked to gamble: shortly after which, the supper tables being removed, dancing

[1] *Despatches*, vol. ii., p. 225; and see also p. 98.

[2] Hall's *Chronicle*, p. 595, ed. 1809.

commenced,"[1] and lasted till midnight, and often many hours later.

Though Wolsey was already so well housed at Hampton Court, yet, for some reason, he wanted to make use of the small place at Esher, which is but two miles off, belonging at that time to the bishopric of Winchester.

To his request, Richard Fox, the then bishop, whose protégé he had been in the reign of Henry VII., readily acceded, and wrote to him saying:[2]—

> Would to God that the poor lodging of Esher did content your Grace, as much as it rejoices me that it can please you to use it. Use it always, as often and as long as it shall please you, right as your own, and make it a cell to Hampton Court, as the King[3] that dead is, whose soul God pardon, made it and Hampton Court cells to Richmond.

At Esher, accordingly, the Cardinal appears to have stayed now and then for a few days; and on succeeding, at the death of Fox in 1529, to the bishopric of Winchester,[4] and so becoming its absolute owner, he repaired its somewhat dilapidated buildings, and added thereto a beautiful gallery.[5] Here, also, it was that he retired, as we shall see, when he lost the King's favour.[6]

[1] Giustinian, *ubi supra.*

[2] Brewer's *State Papers*, vol. iii., No. 414, Aug., 1519.

[3] See *ante*, p. 14.

[4] Grove's *Life and Times of Wolsey*, vol. iv., p. 199.

[5] Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey.*

[6] The manor of Esher was afterwards conveyed to the King and his heirs; but Queen Mary reconveyed it to the bishopric of Winchester, and subsequently it passed into lay hands. See Thorne's *Environs of London.*



CHAPTER III.

WOLSEY'S ADMINISTRATION.

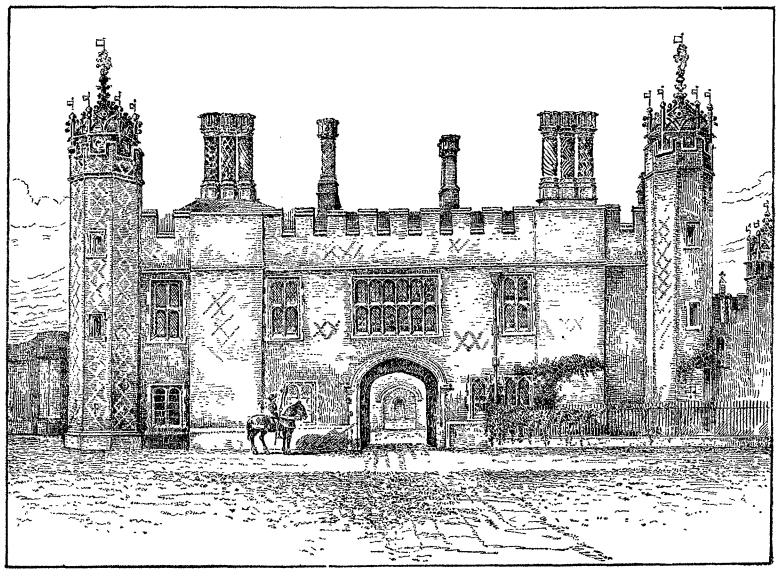
Wolsey retires to Hampton Court—"Not to be troubled with Business"—Resents Intrusion while walking in his Park—Audience obtained of him only on the third or fourth application—"My Lord is not at Leisure"—Rudely seizes the Papal Nuncio—His Impatience of conceited mediocrity and pertinacious self-interest—His Imperiousness in Council—Sustains the whole burden of Foreign and Domestic Administration—His indifferent Health—Has the Ague and Quinsey, Dropsy and Stone, Colic and Sweating Sickness—The King's Affection for him—His Bad Digestion—Eats Meat in Lent—His Devoted Services to his Master—Becomes Lord Chancellor—His fearless Administration of Justice.

WOLSEY'S avocations in London, and his business with the King, and especially the negotiations that followed on the death of the Emperor, for which dignity Henry VIII. had been a candidate, did not permit of his often visiting Hampton Court between the years 1517 and 1520. But he occasionally went down there to spend a few days of rest and quiet in the country air, and would give orders that he was not to be troubled with business till he came back to town.[1]

Nevertheless, on these occasions he was frequently annoyed by importunate questioners and suitors, who pursued

[1] Brewer's *Letters and Papers*, vol. iii., No. 1892.

him into his country retreat, and then complained that they were received with impatient curtness. Allen, who was the confidential agent of the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Steward of the Royal Household, and who had delivered some letters to Wolsey by order of his master, relating apparently to the Lord Steward's official duties, complains bitterly that though



Entrance to the North Wing of the Palace, leading to the Offices.

he had waited on the Cardinal several times in London, he could not get an answer from him. He adds, that he followed him down to Hampton Court, and "besought his Grace that he might know his pleasure:" but Wolsey would not attend to him. The following day he importuned him again, as he was walking in his park, at which the Cardinal was much displeased, and refused to listen to him. "He

that shall be a suitor to him," observes Allen, petulantly, "must have no other business, but give attendance upon his pleasure! To get him to attend when he does not choose must be a wiser man than I am."[1] He adds that he had heard, on another occasion, when importuned by someone on a matter of business, he had replied: "If ye be not content to tarry my leisure, depart when ye will." "I had rather," proceeds Allen, "be commanded to Rome, than deliver letters to him, and wait an answer. When he walks in the Park he will suffer no suitor to come nigh unto him; but commands him away as far as a man will shoot an arrow."[2] We must observe, however, that this last remark is nothing else than a petulant misrepresentation, on the part of a disappointed suitor, of Wolsey's precautions against infection from the sweating sickness, which was then raging with great fury, and with which the Cardinal had been attacked no less than four times in a few months.

Another man, who came to him at Hampton Court, a few years after this, to deliver some letters by order of the King, was told on arriving that he could not see his Grace, because the Queen was staying with him to dinner and supper, and he accordingly had to go back to town again without fulfilling his mission. Next day Wolsey went up to Westminster, and the man hoped to be able to secure an interview for the day after, but was told "he was half a-crazed," and had to abandon all hope of seeing him.[3] Even his own agents and officers often found him difficult of access. Later on, an instance occurs of someone, who had been ordered by the Cardinal himself to attend him, and who came to the palace for that special purpose, being compelled to return, because

[1] Brewer's *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., p. 1192.

[2] Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, vol. i., p. 28, Nov. 25th, 1517.

[3] Brewer's *Letters and Papers*, &c., vol. iii., p. 1031, August 18th, 1522.

"it was commonly reported in his great chamber that he would not give audience any more that night." Next day, again, he waited at Hampton Court till night-time, and at last had to go away without an interview.[1]

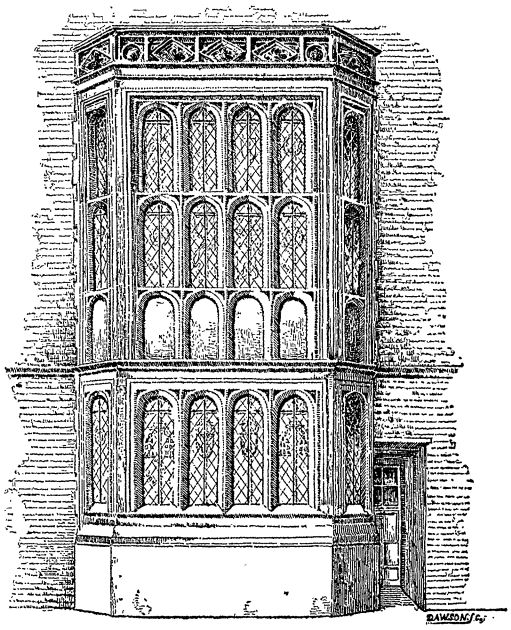
Nor could Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador, depend on being received by him. "I have been several times," relates he, "to the right reverend Cardinal but could never obtain audience; true is it that he was always occupied, either with the ambassadors aforesaid (the Spanish) or with those of France, so that there was no room for me."[2] "No one," he states elsewhere, "obtains audience from him unless at the third or fourth attempt. As he adopts this fashion with the Lords and Barons of England, I made light of it."[3]

In truth, however, to those who sought him on business of real and national importance, Wolsey was generally accessible enough, though he doubtless found it sometimes convenient to refuse to answer importunate questioners. But, by the world in general, his demeanour was looked upon as the arrogance of an upstart. As such it did not escape his implacable satirist, John Skelton, who, in his satire, "Why come ye not to Courte," touches on it in the following lines:—

His countenance like a Cayser, (Kaiser)
My lord is not a layser; (*leisure*)
Sir, you must tarry a stound,[4]
Till better layser be found:
Sir we must dance attendaunce
And take patient sufferaunce;
For my lorde's grace
Has now no time nor place,
To speak with you as yet:

[1] Brewer, *ut sup.*, vol. iv., No. 2397. August 14th, 1526.
[2] *Despatches*, vol. ii., p. 99.
[3] *Despatches*, p. 315.
[4] *A stound*, a while, a time; the same word as the German *stunde*.

And so they may sit or flit
Sit, or walk, or ride.
And his layser abide;
Perchaunce, half a yere—
And yet be never the nere.[1]



Oriel Window of one of Wolsey's rooms.

His faithful gentleman-usher, Cavendish, also mentions a little trait which must have been irritating to those who came in contact with him. He tells us that whenever he was in a crowd, or pestered with any suitors, "he most commonly held to his nose an orange whereof the meat, or sub-

[1] Lines 621-34. This poem was written about 1522, and it would almost seem, from the phrases used by Skelton, that he had heard of the incidents mentioned in Allen's letter.

stance within, was taken out, and filled up again with the part of a sponge, wherein was vinegar and other confections, against the pestilent airs."[1]

So many concurrent testimonies compel us to admit that in his dealings with other men there was frequently an abruptness and imperiousness which they could not fail to resent. Sometimes, when his plans were thwarted, he became transported with anger. On one occasion he is reported to have sent for the Papal Nuncio, taken him into his private chamber, and, regardless of his sacred character and his immunity as an ambassador, to have violently seized him, fiercely demanding what had been the nature of his communications with France, adding that if he did not reveal them he should be put on the rack.[2]

Still we cannot ascribe such irritability to badness of disposition, for we have it from several sources that he was by nature a kindly and considerate man,

> Lofty and sour to them that loved him not
> But to those men that sought him sweet as summer.

We ought, perhaps, to attribute it, with Mr. Brewer,[3] "to the impatience of a man of great genius and penetration, at the interruptions, follies and contradictions to which he was exposed by conceited mediocrity or pertinacious self-interest." From whatever cause it sprung, it naturally excited the resentment of many with whom he had to transact business, and to raise against him a host of enemies. In the Star Chamber and the Privy Council he reigned supreme, the other lords scarce daring to question his proposals, much less to prevent or impede the execution of his plans.[4] His peremptoriness is thus reflected on by Skelton :—

[1] Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* (ed. Holmes, 1852), p. 37.

[2] Giustinian's *Despatches*, vol. ii., p. 17.

[3] Introd. to vol. ii. of *Letters and Papers*, &c., p. ccxxxvii.

[4] Brewer, vol. ii., p. ccxxxi.

He is set so high
In his hierachy
Of frantic phrenesy
And foolish fantasy
That in the Chamber of Stars
All matters there he mars.
Clapping his rod on the Board
No man dare speak a word;
For he hath all the saying
Without any renaying.[1]
He rolleth in his records,
And saith, "How say ye my Lords?
Is not my reason good?"
"Good even, good Robin Hood!"[2]
Some say "yes" and some
Sit still as they were dumb.
Thus thwarting over them
He ruleth all the roast
With bragging and with boast.
Borne up on every side
With pomp and with pride.[3]

Outbursts, such as these, were undoubtedly greatly due to the excessive, and rarely relaxed, mental strain of the whole internal and foreign affairs, both political and ecclesiastical, which were entirely directed by him, and not less to the state of his health. His constitution appears to have never been robust; and when he first selected Hampton Court as a residence, he is said to have been influenced by the qualities of the springs in the vicinity, which are alleged to be beneficial for the stone—a disease from which he suffered.[4] He was a victim, besides, to dropsy, and was several times,

[1] Denial, contradiction.

[2] "A proverbial expression; the allusion is to civility extorted by fear" (Dyce's *Skelton*).

[3] *Why come ye*, &c., lines 181 *et seq.*

[4] We have the authority of Dr. Roots, of Surbiton, for the fact that the Coombe water is "entirely free from all calcareous admixture," and that it is very efficient in cases of stone, "by preventing the formation of lithic acid." See Timbs' *Abbeys and Castles of England*, p. 140, and Biden's *History of Surrey*.

also, attacked, as we have said, by the sweating sickness—that strange and dreadful plague which for two centuries ravaged the homes of England,—and he was constantly suffering from ague, quinsey, and colic. His condition in the summer of 1517 was such as to cause the gravest anxiety; in fact, his life was reported to be despaired of,[1] and he was still ailing at Hampton Court in December of the same year, when Colet wrote to him, advising him to have "nothing to do with doctors; they promise great things which they cannot perform."[2]

Henry, also, wrote affectionately to him, urging him to take air and exercise, and correct the weakness of his stomach.

One of the King's letters, written at this time, pleasantly exhibits him in a mood of affectionate solicitude for his faithful minister, and of gratitude for his services:—

Mine own good Cardinal,

I recommend me unto you with all my heart, and thank you for the great pain and labour that you do daily take in my business and matters, desiring you (that when you have well established them) to take some pastime and comfort to the intent you may the longer endure to serve us, for always pain cannot be endured. Surely you have so substantially ordered our matters, both of this side the sea and beyond, that in mine opinion little or nothing can be added.

No more to you at this time, but that with God's help I trust we shall disappoint our enemies of their intended purpose. Written with the hand of your loving master,

HENRY R.

Recommendations like these were easier to give than to follow, for Wolsey had no time for recreation; and, as he

[1] Brewer, vol. ii., p. ccxxvi., and Giustinian's *Despatches*, vol. ii., p. 90, who adds, June 17th—"None of those who were once so assiduous ever went near him. He is now convalescent."

[2] Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, 3rd S., vol. i., p. 190.

wrote to Henry, his digestion was so impaired that he could eat only tender food, and on this account he had been compelled to procure a dispensation from the Pope for the Lenten observances. This also was adroitly seized on by the venomous Skelton, to point the arrows of his invective:[1]—

To drynke and for to eate
Swete ypogras[2] and swete meate
To kepe his flesshe chast
In Lent for a repast
He eateth capons stewed,
Fesaunt and partriche mewed[3]
Hennes checkynges and pygges;

And, again, that he[4]—

May ete pigges in Lent for pikys,
After the sectes of heretickys
For in Lent he will eat
All manner of fleesh meat
That he can anywhere get.

The King, however, fully understood the difficulties of Wolsey's position, and appreciated the trials to which his ill-health subjected him, and the sacrifices which he made in his master's service. All his letters, indeed, at this period show the same easy familiarity, and cordial sympathy and affection for his "own good Cardinal," as the one just quoted. And when they were together, Henry gave even stronger proof of his confidence and love, by walking with him in the garden at Hampton Court arm in arm, and sometimes with his arm thrown caressingly round his shoulder.

And good cause had he to be grateful for Wolsey's devo-

[1] Line 214.

[2] See *post*, p. 108.

[3] *Cooped up, fatted.* Roy, also, in his satire against Wolsey, *Rede me and be not wrothe*, has these lines:—

"What abstinence useth he to take?
In Lent all fish he doth forsake
Fed with partridges and plovers."

As to Roy, see p. 93.

[4] Line 1078.

tion. While everyone else about the Court was thinking only of his own personal safety, Wolsey alone remained at his post, and through danger, infection, and sickness, kept in view only his duty to his King and the State.

In addition to his office as Chief Minister, which combined all the departments that modern usage distributes among a cabinet of thirteen or fourteen ministers, he was now Lord Chancellor; and, as Mr. Brewer observes, "his administration of that great legal office was characterized by the same energy and fearlessness as distinguished his conduct in all other departments. For his zeal and ability as a judge we have the best testimony that could be had—the testimony of Sir Thomas More. His regularity, decision, and despatch cannot be questioned; his impartiality to all classes was never disputed. These formed the topics of satire and complaint. The lawyers hated him for his strict adherence to justice, his discouragement of petty legal artifices, endless forms, and interminable verbosity; the nobles hated him still more, because riches and nobility were no recommendation to partiality or favour, as they had been in the days of his predecessors."[1] In confirmation of this estimate can be cited the view of the Venetian ambassador, who, though no friend of his, is found stating that "he favours the people exceedingly, and especially the poor, hearing their suits and seeking to despatch them instantly. He also makes the lawyers plead gratis for all paupers."[2]

[1] *Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. i., p. 241.

[2] *Despatches*, vol. ii., p. 314.

CHAPTER IV.

DECORATION OF THE PALACE.

Extent of Wolsey's Palace—First Court described—Double Lodgings—Clock Court—Its Picturesqueness—The Cardinal's Galleries—The Offices—Ornamental Work—Italian Terra-Cotta Medallions of the Roman Emperors—The Cardinal's Arms—His Shield satirized—Denounced as the "Mastiff Cur and Butcher's Dog"—Internal Decoration of his Palace—His Closet hung with Cloth of Gold—Ceilings of Gold and Byse—His other Private Rooms—His Gorgeous Reception Rooms—Hung with Tapestries of Silk and Gold—The Windows ablaze with Painted Glass.

AFTER Wolsey's return from the meeting at the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," in 1520,[1] he appears to have made more prolonged stays than heretofore at Hampton Court, which had now nearly arrived at that stage of completion in which he left it. We are not able exactly to define the limits of the Cardinal's palace, for after his death Henry VIII. carried out many alterations and additions, which in their turn have been subsequently modified; but we can form a

[1] There is a letter in the British Museum from Wolsey to Francis, written in French, and dated "A ma place de Hampton Court le ix[ieme] jour de December" [1519], assuring him he will do all he can to promote the interview, and that "the friendship of the two Kings is what he most desires."

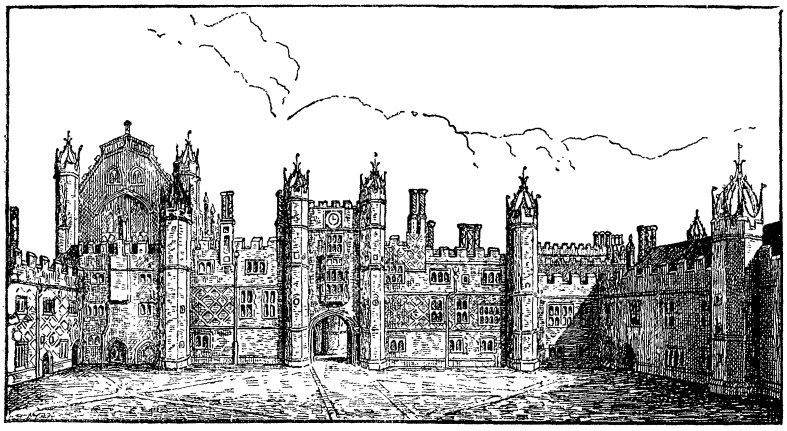
rough idea of its extent. We have already noticed the West Front as being entirely Wolsey's; the same may be said of the First Court, otherwise called the Base Court, or Utter (that is, *Outer*) Court,[1] which is the largest courtyard in the palace, being 167 feet from north to south, and 142 feet from east to west. It gives us no mean idea of Tudor palatial architecture; and when we restore in imagination the green turf which originally covered the area, the cupolas on the turrets, and the latticed windows, we see it as it appeared to the great Cardinal when riding through it on his mule. It has a look of warmth and comfort and repose, and an air of picturesque gloom which is in pleasing contrast with the staring vulgarities of the "cheerful" cockney buildings of the present day.

The plan is here more uniform than in other parts of the Tudor palace, the windows in both storeys of three sides of the quadrangle being all of three lights, and of the same size, and ranged at regular intervals from each other. These belong to certain long narrow galleries, which (though the plan has been altered in recent times) originally gave access to a great number of "double lodgings," as they were called in Wolsey's day, consisting each of a large chamber with a smaller inner one.[2] The internal arrangements, to judge from the old plans and records, must have been of great comfort and convenience, and do not at all confirm the current notion of the discomfort of old Gothic houses. On the fourth or east side, this regularity is discarded for a somewhat freer disposition: the elevation is broken by turrets, a third storey is added, and the sky-line rises in a sort of gradation up to the Clock Tower in the centre, which itself attains a height of eighty feet. The portion of this range, on

[1] *Base Court* signifies the same as the French *Basse Cour*, that is, the court where the servants and attendants dwelt. It was called the *Utter* Court in contradistinction to the *Inner* Court.

[2] See the sketch on page 109, and see Appendix I.

the right hand of the Clock Tower, is remarkable for the variety and freedom in the grouping of the windows, which are distributed and proportioned, not according to the rule and line of a dull uniformity, which destroys the comfort of so many modern houses, but as internal convenience required, and thus became a principal element in its picturesqueness.[1]

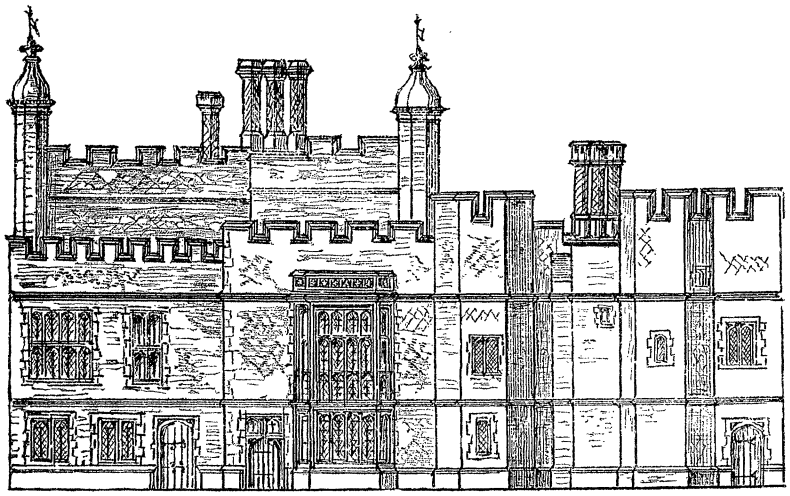


The First Court with the Cupolas restored.

In this court, also, we find many good specimens of the interlacing of the brickwork with chequered lines of dark-coloured bricks, capriciously inserted in diagonal lines—an embellishment which, though regarded as a symptom of degenerate taste, is far from having an unpleasant effect. Altogether this court is an admirable example of the elasticity of Tudor Gothic, and its adaptability to domestic purposes.

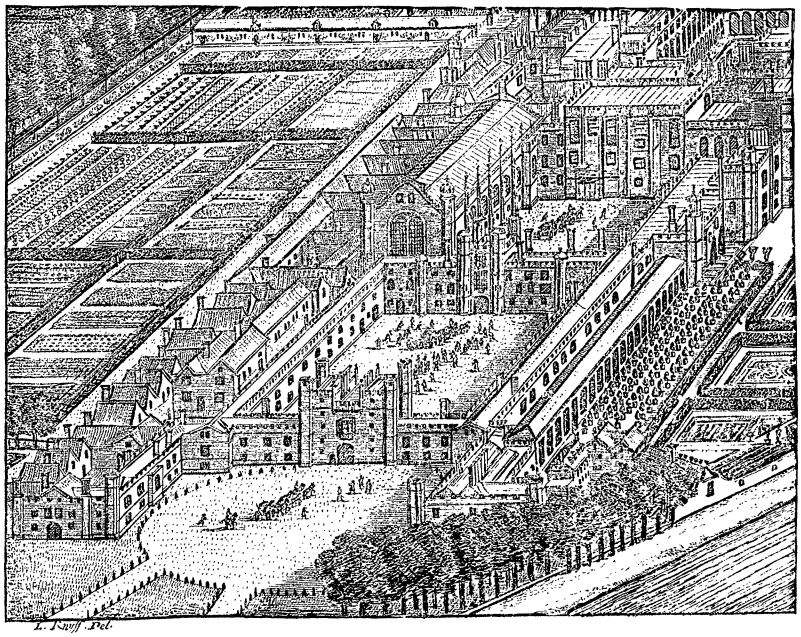
[1] On this account it was specially admired by Pugin, who engraved, in his *Specimens*, a plate of it, which is reproduced further on.

The Clock Court, access to which is had from the First Court through the archway of the Clock Tower, formed the inner and principal part of Wolsey's original palace; but the alterations that it has undergone since his time cause it to present a very different appearance now. In the first place, the present Great Hall, which occupies the whole of its north side, though often called Wolsey's hall, was not



View of Cardinal Wolsey's Rooms in the Clock Court (now hidden by the Colonnade).

erected by him, but, after his death, by Henry VIII., though it doubtless stands on the site of the smaller and older hall of the Cardinal's building. Then half of the east side of the court was rebuilt by George II., while the original south range is almost entirely obscured from view by the Ionic colonnade of Sir Christopher Wren. Here, however, we are in one of the most interesting corners of Hampton Court;



Bird's Eye View of Hampton Court, showing the Extent of Wolsey's Palace.

for behind this colonnade remains the original range of buildings, in which are situated the very rooms occupied by Cardinal Wolsey himself, and which we shall notice in detail further on. The picturesque irregularity of the windows and turrets, and the unfettered outline of the parapet in this range, make it deserving of being reproduced.

Attached to this corner was one of the Cardinal's galleries, in which he used to pace, meditating on his political plans, on his chances for the popedom, and on the failing favour of the King. To this, which must have been demolished by William III., and to the other long galleries in the First Court, Cavendish makes reference in his metrical life of his master:

> My gallories were fayer, both large and long
> To walk in them when that it lyked me best.

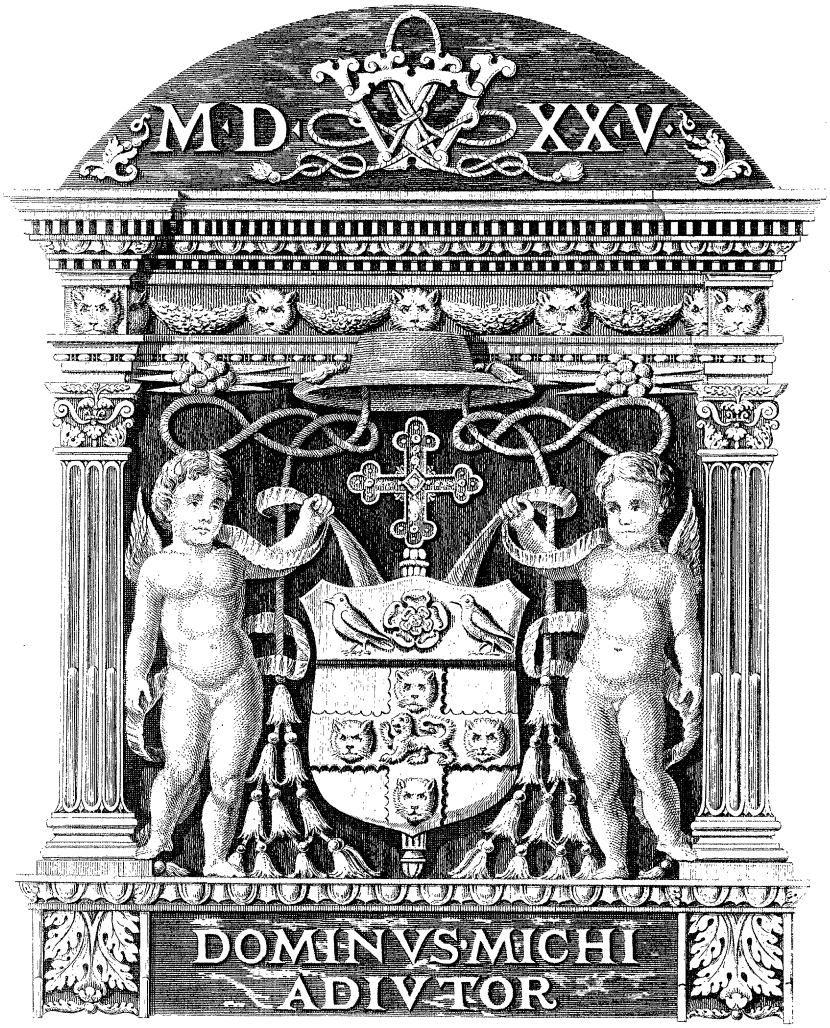
On the north side of the last two mentioned courts is a long intricate range of building, enclosing various smaller courts, and containing kitchens and other offices, and bedrooms for the numerous members of his household. Much of this part of the building, together with the cloisters and courts to the north-east, called the Round-Kitchen and Chapel Courts, seem also to have been the work of the great Cardinal. The chapel, however, was remodelled, if not entirely rebuilt, by Henry VIII., though we may assume that it occupies the same site as that of Wolsey and the ancient one of the Knights Hospitallers, whose tombs perhaps lie beneath the kitchens and other offices contiguous to the Chapel Court.

When, therefore, we take into consideration William III.'s demolitions, which included some of the Cardinal's original structure as well as Henry VIII.'s additions, we may conclude that Wolsey's palace cannot have been very much smaller than the existing one, which covers eight acres, and has a thousand rooms.

For the execution of the ornamental work about the building, and for the internal decoration of the rooms, he employed the best carvers, painters, and gilders in London, many of them being Italians who had come over to this country attracted by his liberal patronage of the arts. Sometimes he sent to Italy direct for decorative work. The terra-cotta medallion busts of the Roman Emperors, surrounded with rich arabesque borders, which are affixed to the turrets on each side of the gateways of the courts, were ordered by him, at a cost of £2 6*s.* each, of Joannes Maiano. It has been stated, without warrant, that these were executed by Della Robbia, and were gifts from Leo X. That this is an error can be proved from the sculptor Maiano's own letter, preserved in the Record Office, dated June 18th, 1521, in which he asks for payment, and speaks of them as "rotundæ imagines ex terra depictæ," and mentions that they were destined for the palace at "Anton Cort." Joannes Maiano was probably a son and student of one of the famous Maiani, who enjoyed so great a reputation as architectural or ornamentist sculptors at the close of the fifteenth century.[1]

The number of busts was originally ten; and all these are still to be found at Hampton Court, one of them having been recovered at the beginning of the century from a cottage in the neighbourhood, where it had been bricked into

[1] See *Calendar of State Papers For. and Dom. Henry VIII.* iii., No. 1355. The letter also refers to "Three histories of Hercules, at £4 each" of similar workmanship, and also made for Hampton Court. Perhaps the circular medallion bust of enamelled terra cotta containing a female head, in full relief, which was brought forth, some years ago, from the store-room, where it had lain from time immemorial, and which is now among the Italian sculptures in the South Kensington Museum, is one of these. Mr. J. C. Robinson, who ascribes it conjecturally to Benedetto da Rovezzano, a scholar of the Maiani, observes that it is obviously by the same hand as the medallions of the Cæsars. See *Catalogue of the Italian Sculpture Collection, South Kensington Museum*, p. 84.



ARMS OF CARDINAL WOLSEY,

in terra cotta.

a garden wall. They are very finely executed in red terra cotta, that colour being evidently chosen in order to harmonize with the red brick of the building. It will be remembered that this style of decoration was very much in vogue at this time, especially in France, where Francis I. was employing Della Robbia to enrich his palaces in this way with architectural sculptures.

A specimen of similar work, which is here engraved on an interleaf, is to be seen over the inner side of the gate-



Medallion of Julius Cæsar in Terra Cotta.

way under the Clock Tower. It displays the arms of Wolsey,[1] affixed to an archiepiscopal cross, supported by two cherubim and surmounted by a cardinal's hat. Above is his monogram T. W., entwined with a cordon, between the date MDXXV; and below is his motto: DOMINVS MICHI ADIVTOR. It is a beautiful piece of work, which we may also ascribe, if not to one of the Maiani, at any rate to their school. Here it must have been fixed by the Cardinal; and it is strange it should have remained undisturbed by Henry VIII., who

[1] Their heraldic description is:—Sab. on a cross engrailed Arg. a lion passant guard. G. between four leopards' faces Az. on a chief of the second, a rose of the third between two Cornish choughs, proper. They were engraved for the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1845.

afterwards substituted his own arms and cognizances everywhere.[1]

The prominence given to Wolsey's arms, which were often on public occasions placed side by side the King's, was another source of exasperation to his enemies. Roy, another satirist who lashed the proud Cardinal, in his satire, "Rede me and be not wrothe," gives a coarsely-drawn coat-of-arms, representing a sort of burlesque or caricature of his real arms, and giving quarterly three bulls' heads, three butchers' hatchets dripping with blood, and, instead of the lion, a mastiff passant with a royal crown in his mouth. The shield is supported by two devils; while at the back, in place of the cross, is a thick club, and the whole is surmounted by a cardinal's red hat. Accompanying this heraldic satire are the verses:—

> Of the prowde Cardinall this is the shelde
> Borne up between two angels of Sathan,
> The six blouddy axes in a bare field
> Sheweth the cruelty of the red man,
> Carter of Yorcke, the vile butcher's son.
>
> * * * * *
>
> The ban-dog[2] in the middes doth expresse
> The mastiff curre bred in Ipswich towne,
> Gnawinge with his teth a kynges crowne.[3]

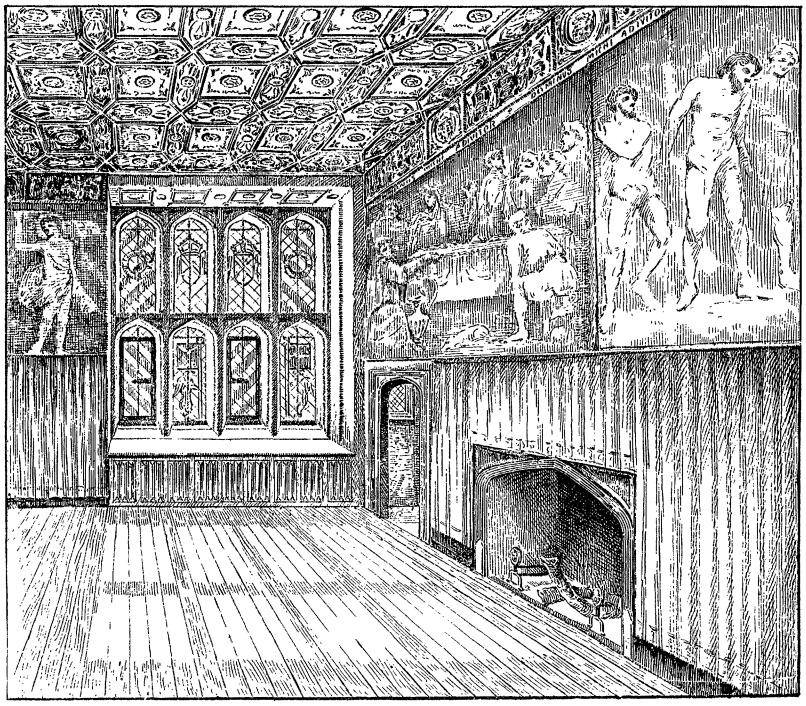
"The mastiff cur" and "the butcher's dog" are appellations, which became nicknames as it were, applied to him in allusion to his being supposed to be the son of a butcher of Ipswich, and which abound in the abusive publications of the time.[4]

[1] For further particulars about the Cardinal's arms, see *post*, p. 60.

[2] A ban-dog is one that has always to be tied up on account of its fierceness.

[3] Note to Cavendish's *Wolsey*, ed. 1852, p. 184. The last line cited derives a special appropriateness from the fact of one of the Cardinal's badges or devices being a leopard's head with a crown in its mouth.

[4] See, besides Roy, Skelton's *Speke, Parrot, speke*, l. 478, and *Why come ye not?* &c. For Roy, see note, p. 93.



Cardinal Wolsey's Closet.

Of the internal decoration of the rooms of Wolsey's palace we have but few surviving remains. There is one little room, however, on the east side of the Clock Court, among the private apartments, which, though much reduced in size and injured by time, preserves in many essentials its pristine state.[1] It has a large ancient mullioned window, looking towards the present Fountain Court, an old Tudor fireplace, and a little inner closet of antique appearance, formed in the thickness of the wall. The ceiling, however, is the chief point of interest, and is very beautiful, being of pure cinque-cento design in octagonal panels, with decorative scrollwork and other ornaments in relief. The ribs are of moulded wood, with balls and leaden leaves at their intersections; these, and the ornamental work within the panels, are gilt, the ground being of light blue.[2] It is observable that Cavendish, in the poem already quoted,[3] makes particular reference to the "roofs with gold and byse," *byse* being a rich light blue paint:—

> My byldynges somptious, the roffes with gold and byse,
> Shone lyke the sone in myd day sphere
> Craftely entaylled,[4] as connyng could devise,
> With images embossed, most lively did appeer;
> Expertest artificers that were both farre and nere,
> To beautyfie my howssys, I had them at my will,
> Thus I wanted nought my pleasures to fulfil.

Round the upper portion of the walls, on two sides, is a

[1] It is in the Hon. Lady Hill's apartments, by whose kindness I have been enabled to have the accompanying sketches taken. It was described in Mr. Jesse's and Sir Henry Cole's Guides in 1840, and excited some interest in Parliament at that time.

[2] Sir Henry Cole, in his *Handbook for Hampton Court*, ed. 1843, p. 36, states that this ceiling "is but a remnant, which has been brought from some other part and rudely nailed up here," and that "the panels have been cut through to fit the size of the room." This is not the case. That the ceiling was made for the room is clear from its construction, the panels being shaped to fit the splay of the windows.

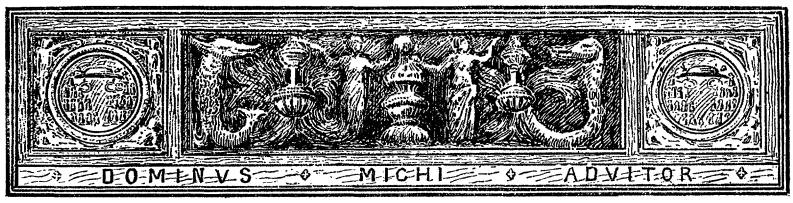
[3] Singer's ed., vol. ii., p. 10, 1825.

[4] Carved.

finely wrought cornice or frieze, in the same style as the ceiling, recalling the lines:—

> Nor did there want
> Cornice or frieze with bossy sculpture graven;
> The roof was fretted gold.

Whether this originally belonged to this room, or was brought from some other part of the palace, it certainly formed part of the original decoration of Wolsey's palace, for it is emblazoned with his motto, "Domine michi adjutor." It may not improbably be "the border of antyke, with nakyd



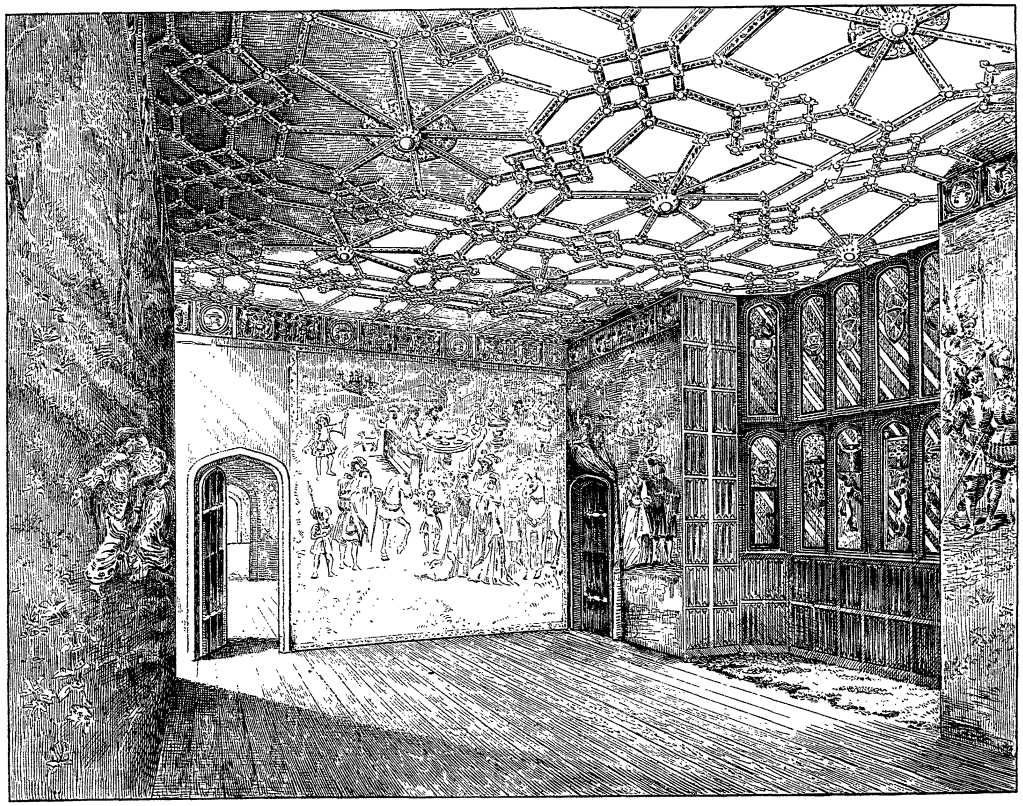
Decorative Frieze in Cardinal Wolsey's Closet.

childer, the antyke alle gylte, the ffylde layde with ffyne byse" in the Long Gallery in Henry VIII.'s time.[1] Below are several long narrow panels, painted in oil, somewhat in the style of Primaticcio, with subjects from the Passion of our Lord.[2] These also must have belonged to Wolsey, and have hung on these walls since his time. The lower part of the wall was probably covered with cloth of gold hangings, as to which we shall give further particulars on a subsequent page.[3]

[1] See *Appendix*, F, No. IV.

[2] A book of engravings of these was published in 1830 by P. W. Tomkins, who etched the plates. The subjects are the Last Supper, the Scourging at the Pillar, Christ bearing the Cross, and the Resurrection. They are, perhaps, by Luca Penni or Toto del Nunziato, as to whom see *post*, pp. 128, 129.

[3] See p. 68.



One of Cardinal Wolsey's Rooms.

The whole decoration of this room, faded though it is by time, gives us that idea of splendour and richness, without gaudiness, which was characteristic of the artistic taste of the great Cardinal. Perhaps we may identify it with the "Confessionary" described by Walpole,[1] about a hundred years ago, as containing paintings such as we have mentioned, and with the "Confessary" of the time of Henry VIII.

Some further traces of the decoration of Wolsey's rooms are also to be found in the suite already referred to, behind the colonnade in the Clock Court. The finest is a large and lofty chamber with a deep-bayed oriel window (see illustration on page 39) abutting on the court, and with a beautiful ceiling, which, though now whitewashed, is otherwise intact. The plan, as will be seen from the plate, is a very complex but beautiful one; and the ribs, which are of wood, are enriched with ornaments in papier maché. An adjoining room has a ceiling of like nature, exhibiting the Cardinal's hat, his crosses, and his pole-axes crossed, with other devices. The walls were of course originally hung with tapestries of silk and gold, and the windows ablaze with coloured glass. Two other rooms of this apartment have their walls covered with oak panelling of two different varieties of the linenfold pattern.[2]

All his other chambers were equally resplendent. "One has to traverse eight rooms," says the Venetian ambassador, who frequently visited him at his country residence, "before one reaches his audience chamber, and they are all hung with tapestry, which is changed once a week."[3] Du Bellay, also, who came over to England on a diplomatic mission with Anne de Montmorency, and was entertained with the rest of his suite with great magnificence at Hampton

[1] *Anecdotes of Painting.*

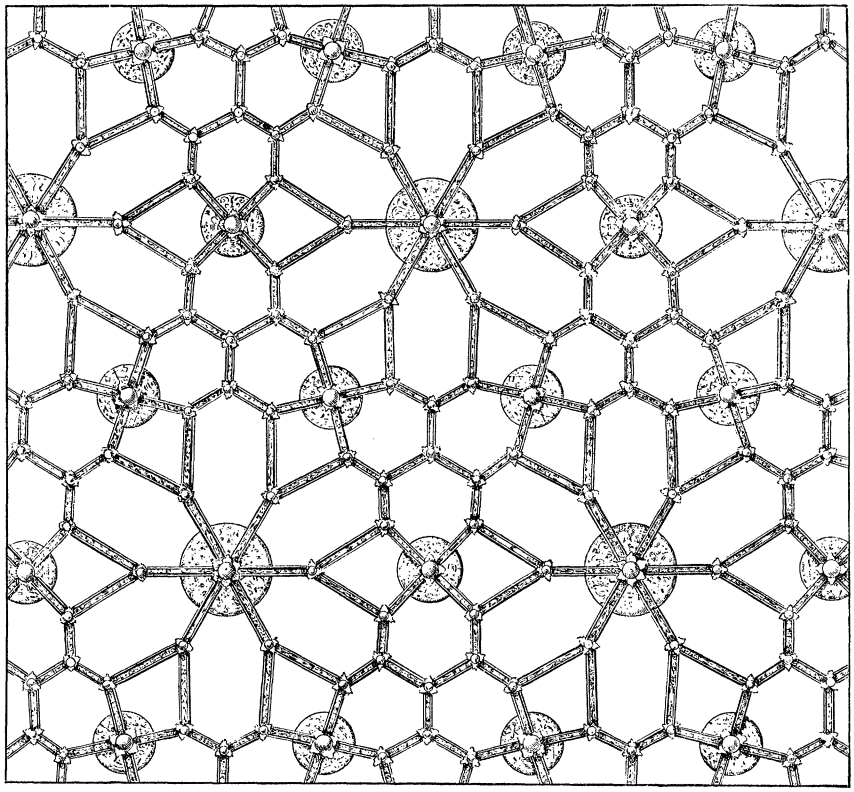
[2] See p. 70. I have been enabled to give these illustrations through the courtesy of Mrs. Carey, who now occupies the Cardinal's rooms; and of the Misses Gordon, whose apartments adjoin.

[3] Giustinian, *Report of England* vol. ii., p. 314.

Court,[1] bears similar testimony to its gorgeousness. "The very bed-chambers had hangings of wonderful value, and every place did glitter with innumerable vessels of gold and silver. There were two hundred and four score beds, the furniture to most of them being silk, and all for the entertainment of strangers only."[2]

[1] See *post*, p. 103.

[2] See *post*, p. 111.



Ceiling of one of Cardinal Wolsey's Rooms.

CHAPTER V.

THE CARDINAL'S TAPESTRY, CURTAINS, AND CARPETS.

The Cardinal's Magnificent Furniture—His Passion for Tapestry—Buys it wholesale—Hundreds of Sets of Silk Hangings—Tapestries for the Rooms in the Great Gate-House—Chamber of the Nine Worthies—Borders with the Cardinal's Arms—Biblical, Mythological, and Romantic Subjects—Hangings of Verdure—Wolsey's worldly Luxury censured—The Six Triumphs—The Cardinal's Private Rooms—Hangings of Cloth of Gold—Cloths of State—Curtains—Traverses—Table Covers—Carpets—Wolsey's Oak-Panelled Rooms—Receives a Present of Sixty Damascene Carpets from Venice.

THE whole furniture of Wolsey's palace was on the same scale of splendour as its decoration. It threw the King's quite into the shade. Foreigners just arrived from the Courts of France, Germany, Spain and Italy, were filled with amazement at his magnificence. Nothing like it had ever been seen before out of Rome. For tapestry he seems to have had a perfect passion. His agents ransacked the Continent for the choicest products of the looms of Flanders; and in the year of the meeting of Henry and Francis at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, we find him in correspondence with Sir Richard Gresham, the father of the more famous Sir Thomas, the founder of the Royal Exchange, with regard to the purchase of arras wholesale.

Gresham came down to Hampton Court, and took the measures of eighteen chambers, and he made a book of them, to which he wished the Cardinal to set his hand; but "his grace had such business that he could not speak with him," and as the mart was almost over, Gresham could not wait, but had to take ship without seeing him. The hangings, which were to amount to a thousand marks or more, were accordingly ordered by him to be made at once; and as the makers were poor men, he paid them their money in advance.[1]

Again, in December, 1522, he bought at one bargain twenty-one complete sets, consisting of no less than 132 pieces.[2] These were to furnish the rooms in the tower, or great gate-house, which stands in the centre of the west front. The subjects were all scriptural, and their allocation is set forth in detail in the old manuscript. Thus in the larger room, on the south side of the gate,[3] on the first floor, were hung "Six peces of the Story of Ester"; in "the inner chaumber to the seide chaumber" were "six peces of the storye of Samuell"; and in chambers on the upper storeys on the same side were hung the stories of "Tobye, Oure Lady, Moyses, Tobeas, and Estrogeas." Similar sets, each of five or seven pieces, containing the "Storyes of the Forlorne Sonne, of Estrogeas, of David, of Samuell, of Emelyke," decorated the walls of the chambers on the north side of the gate.[4] These facts are derived from the original inventory of Wolsey's possessions, which is still preserved among the Harleian manuscripts, and which affords many particulars of much archæological value. We may extract the entry relating to one of these sets of tapestry as a specimen of the rest :—

[1] See Gresham's letter in Ellis' *Original Letters*, 3rd S., vol. i., p. 234.
[2] Harleian MSS., 599.
[3] Now occupied by Lady Walpole.
[4] Now occupied by the Hon. Lady Clifford.

Ffor the seconde Chaumber ouer the poorters lodge of the base Courte.

forlorne Sonne. *Also 7 peces of hanginges of the Storye of forlorne sonne whereof oon pece cont.* 36 *ellis quarter; a/nother pece cont.* 19 *ellis quarter di. The* 3rd *pece cont* 3 *ellis di. di. quarter. The* 4th *pece cont* 34 *ellis quarter di. The* 5th *pece cont.* 15 *ellis. The* 6th *pece cont* 6 *ellis di. The* 7th *pece cont.* 3 *ellis. Hanginges peces* 5. *Wyndowe peces* 2.

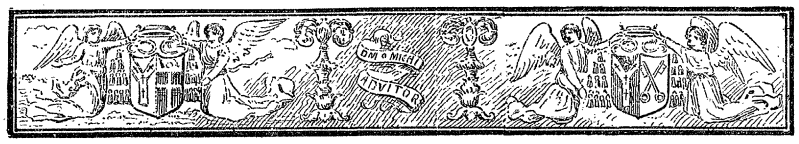
For the Inner Chaumber to the 2nd Chaumber aforsaide.

Estrogeas. *Also* 5 *peces of hanginges of the Storye of Estrogeas Whereof oon pece contd* 41 *ellis quarter, a/nother pece cont.* 6 *ellis quarter The* 3rd *cont.* 3 *ellis* 3 *quarters di. The* 4th *pece cont.* 35 *elles. and the* 5th *pece cont.* 31 *elles di. hanging peces* 3 *window peces* 2.

But even yet all the rooms in Wolsey's gate-house were not furnished. There remained "the great chaumber over the gate of the Base Court," which is one of the finest remaining rooms in Wolsey's original palace. For this he bought, in the following December, "nine peces of the nine Worthys," and, at the same time, five other sets of "the storyes of Jacob, Susanna, Judyth, Holyfernes, Salamon, and Sampson" for various "parlours" and "chaumbers" in contiguous parts of the palace.

Still these formed but a small proportion of all the tapestry at Hampton Court. In addition to many duplicate sets of the biblical "stories" already noticed, there were scores containing the stories of Samson, of Susanna, of Joseph, David, King Ahasuerus and Queen Esther, of St. John the Baptist, of Our Lady, Christ, the Passion, the Old and New Law; and numerous single pieces of David harping, Christ casting the trader out of the Temple, St. George, the Sacrament of the altar with angels, and so on. Many of them, as, for instance, the twelve pieces of the Old

Law and the New, were set with "new borders of my Lord Cardinal's arms." It is curious to note that several of these borders still remain at Hampton Court, where they are now fixed against the balustrade of the minstrel gallery in the Hall. They show the arms of Wolsey, the ancient arms of the see of York impaling those of Wolsey, and the ancient and modern arms of the see of York, impaled.[1] The supporters of each shield are angels, represented in the Gothic style with wings and long flowing robes, not in the Renaissance style of naked amorini. Above each is the Cardinal's hat, with the usual cordons and nodules hanging at the sides, and behind each appears the archiepiscopal



Border of Tapestry with Cardinal Wolsey's Arms.

cross. The work is very excellent and delicate, and the colours and the gold and silver thread as bright and lustrous as ever. Between the arms are scrolls with the legend *Dominus michi adjutor*.

Others had borders sewn on, "with the arms of England and Spain, with roses and daisies." Six pieces of new hangings, unnamed, may be also particularized as having been "bought for my Lordes lesser dynyng chambre at Hampton Court."[2]

But Wolsey's taste was not restricted to sacred art; he was equally eager in the purchase of hangings dealing with mythological story and mediæval romance. For instance,

[1] The ancient arms of the see of York are the same as those of Canterbury, except that the pall was *Or* instead of *Argent*. For Wolsey's own arms, see page 52.

[2] Folio 5.

we find enumerated dozens upon dozens of sets of the finest old and new arras, wrought with such subjects as: Jupiter, Pluto and Ceres, "Parys and Atchilles," "the Storye of Priamus," Hercules and Jason, Hannibal, and so on, and "the wheel of Fortune," "the Duke of Bry and the gyante Orrible," the Pilgrimage and Life of Man, "Dame Pleasaunce," and the "Storye of L'Amante or the Romaunte of the Rose." [1]

Besides these there were hundreds of pieces of so-called "Hangings of Verdures,[2] with losinges and divers coloures," [3] with Bishop Smyth's arms, with birds, and beasts, and flowers; and several pieces of hawking and shooting, one of "a man kneeling upon his hat, and putting a duck's bill in the ground." Numerous unnamed pieces follow, such as: "Woodcutting and a man shotting at a heron," "a fountain and a lady, in her hair, standing by it," "a lady putting a black shoe upon a man's foot," playing at cards, &c.; and pieces of hangings paned white and green (the Tudor colours), with branches of roses, red and white.[4]

Such profane and worldly luxury on the part of an ecclesiastic could not fail to fall under the puritanic lash of the malignant Skelton, who comments severely on his "building royally" such "mansions curiously":— [5]

[1] Several very fine and curious, but unnamed pieces of old Flemish tapestry, which now hang under the Minstrel Gallery in the Hall, and in Henry VIII.'s Great Watching Chamber, are probably to be identified with some of these. For a description and account of them, see the author's *New Guide to Hampton Court.*

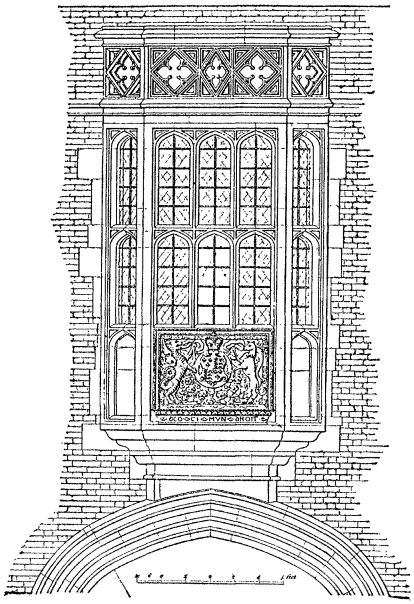
[2] "*Ouvrage de Verdure,* forest work, or flourished work, wherein gardens, woods, or forests be represented."—Cotgrave's *French Dictionary*, 1632.

[3] Seven pieces were in the "moneth of Auguste Anno 15° Reg. H. VIII. (*i.e.* 1524), shorne and new dressed on the wrong side, and made mete for the hanging of the halle at Hampton Court, by reason whereof they were demenysshed in depth."

[4] Folio 21.

[5] *Colyn Cloute*, l. 938. The satire is not so direct here as in the *Why come ye not to Courte?* but that he had Wolsey in view is plain from his proceeding to express his disgust (l. 991) at "one man ruling a King" and (l. 1020) "At the pleasure of one that ruleth the roast alone."

With turrets and with towers
With halls and with bowers,
Stretching to the stars
With glass windows and bars;
Hanging about the walls
Cloths of gold and palls



Oriel Window in Wolsey's First Court.

Arras of rich array
Fresh as flowers of May,
With Dame Diana naked,
How lusty Venus quakéd
And how Cupide shakéd
His dart, and bent his bow,
For to shoot a crow

At her, "tyrly tyrlow" [1]
And how Paris of Troy
Danced a *lege de moy*
Made lusty sport and joy
With Dame Helen the queen
With such stories bydeen [2]
Their chambers well be-seen.

From some of the allusions in these verses, we may almost presume that Skelton had actually seen the arras hangings that decorated Hampton Court. That he was thoroughly familiar, at any rate, with one set belonging to Wolsey which has not yet been mentioned, will presently appear evident. The one referred to is entered in Wolsey's Inventory [3] as follows:—

Hangings bought of the 'xecutors of my lord of Durham anno xiiij° Reg. H. viij (*i.e.* 1523).

Tryumphes. *Ffirst viii pieces of tryumphes, whereof* 4 *pieces be lyned with canvas, and other* 4 *peces be unlyned. The ffyrste pece of the* 4 *lyned is* **De Tempore** *and it contains in length ix yardes, and in depth* 4 *yardes* 3 *quarters di. And the same pece is brente* (i.e. *burnt*) *in the nether skyrte* 3 *elles fflemysshe square. The secunde pece is* **De Morte** *and it contains etc. The* 3rd *pece is* **De Castitate** *and it contains etc. The* 4th *pece is* **of Eternitée** *and it contains etc. And the ffyrste pece of the said* 4 *peces unlyned is of* **Cupide and Uenus** *containing in length etc. The secunde pece is of* **Renowne** *or Julyus Cæsar containing etc. The* 3rd *pece is of* **Tyme** *and it contains etc. The* 4*th pece is* **de Eternity** *and contains etc.*

Of these six triumphs (Wolsey having duplicates of those of Time and Eternity), we at once identify three, namely, those of Death, Renown, and Time as still remaining at

[1] Equivalent to the modern *fa, la, la*, "which is often used with a sly or wanton allusion."—*Dyce.*

[2] *bedeen, i.e.* together.

[3] Folio 14.

Hampton Court in Henry VIII.'s Great Watching or Guard Chamber; while the other three—of Love, Chastity, and Eternity, or Divinity,—complete the set of six designs, which were illustrative, in an allegorical form, of Petrarch's Triumphs. Duplicates of the Triumphs of Death and Fame are in the South Kensington Museum, where may be also seen the Triumph of Chastity. An example of the Triumph of Divinity is stated to be at Rheims; but the Triumph of Love is, as yet, not known to be extant.[1]

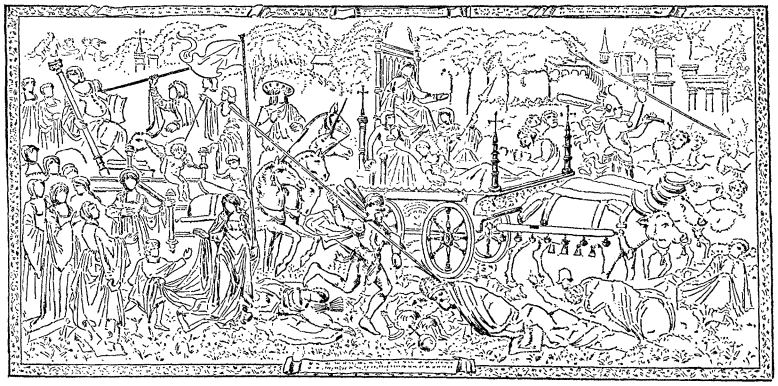
When we consider that £2,500 was given the other day for the three pieces at Kensington, and that Wolsey's eight pieces formed but an insignificant portion of his whole collection of tapestries, we can arrive at some idea of the value and richness of the hundreds of hangings that shone on the walls of his palace.

We need not describe in detail here these beautiful "triumphs." It will be sufficient to observe that, belonging to the finest period of Flemish art, before the influence of the Italian Renaissance had made itself felt, they are as interesting for the cleverness of the design, as for the harmony of colour and the delicacy of workmanship. Every piece contains two distinct aspects of the triumph, represented under a mystical or allegorical form; and over each part is worked a scroll, with quaint old French verses or legends, in black letter, indicating the moral of the allegory beneath. One of these—that above the Triumph of Fate over Chastity—may be cited as a specimen:—

Combienque . l'omme . soit . chaste . tout . pudique
Les . seurs . fatalles . par . leur . loy . autentique,
Tranchent . les . nerfs . et . filletz . de . la . vie,
A . cela . la . mort . tous . les . vivans . amovie.

[1] These tapestries were discussed in the *Times* in May, and were mentioned in the House of Commons in June, 1883. They are minutely described in the *New Guide to Hampton Court*, where their history is also given.

In each piece a female, emblematic of the influence whose triumph is celebrated, is shown enthroned on a gorgeously magnificent car drawn by elephants, or unicorns, or bulls, richly caparisoned and decorated ; while around them throng a host of attendants and historical personages, typical of the triumph portrayed. Thus, in the Triumph of Fame or



The Triumph of Fate.

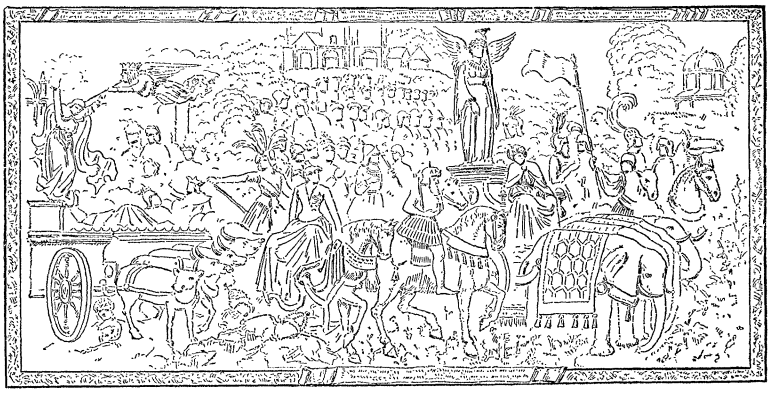
To the left is a car, on which is seated CHASTETE, whom the three Destinies are attacking, Atropos striking her with the fatal dart. At the feet of Chastity is Cupid bound ; and in the foreground is LVCRECE, bearing a long pillar, with her train held up by BONVOLONTE, who offers her a dagger. On the far side is Scipio Africanus, and on this side a throng of attendant maidens. To the right are the three Fates in a gorgeous triumphal car, with Atropos enthroned aloft, her right hand on a skull, and her left holding the shears and slitting the thin-spun thread of life, which Cloto is spinning from the distaff, and Lachesis is twining. At their feet lies Chastity powerless ; and on this side of the car is a warrior with a javelin inscribed GREVANCE, and two clubs, PERSECVCION and CONSOMACION, while all around is a crowd of figures being knocked down and crushed by the relentless progress of the Car of Fate. In the background is a figure, COVRONS, brandishing a javelin, MALHEUR, and carrying a club, FORTITUDO.

Renown, we have figures representing Julius Cæsar and Pompey ; and in the first aspect of the Triumph of Chastity we see Venus, driven by naked cupids, and surrounded by heroines of amorous renown, attacked by Chastity.

The reader will now recognize how pointed is the reference to these tapestries in the following lines of Skelton's satire : [1]—

[1] *Colyn Cloute*, l. 958, vol. ii., p. 348, Dyce's edition. It was written in the year Wolsey acquired the "Triumphs."

With Triumphs of Cæsar
And of Pompeius' war
Of Renown and of Fame
By them to get a name.
Now all the world stares
How they ride in goodly chairs
Conveyed by elephants



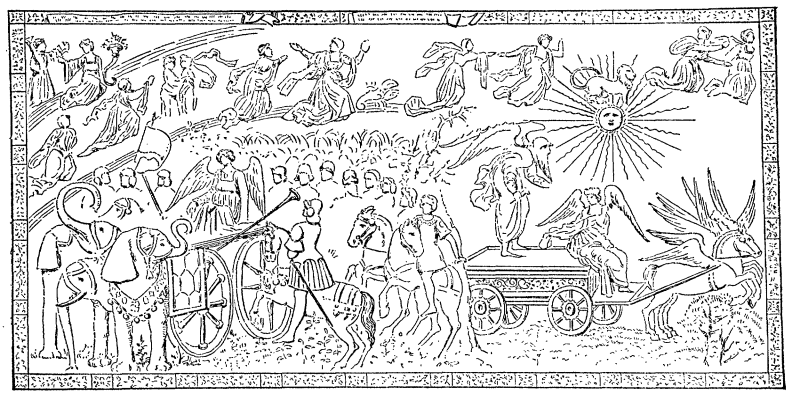
The Triumph of Renown.

Here we see again the Car of Fate, but Lachesis and Cloto are lying prostrate under the wheels; and Atropos is tottering from her throne, stunned by the blast of the trumpet of Fame. On the right is a beautiful winged female figure representing Fame or Renown, standing on a magnificent car drawn by elephants. At her feet is Atropos, captive; and all around a crowd of heroes.

With laureat garlants
And by unicorns
With their seemly horns;
Upon these beasts riding,
Naked boys striding,
With wanton wenches winking.
Now, truly, to my thinking
That is a speculation
And a meet meditation
For prelates of estate,
Their courage to abate

From worldly wantonness
Their chambers thus to dress
With such partfetness [1]
And all such holiness.

This contemporary satirical allusion gives these tapestries a particular interest, and invests them, in regard to Hampton Court, with historical associations that ought never to be



The Triumph of Time.

Here the Car of Fame is shown turned back, in flight before some overmastering influence ; while on the right is the Car of Time, drawn by four winged horses, with Fame seated submissive in front. Over all are the signs of the Zodiac, the flight of the fleeting Hours, and the Sun in a full blaze in the sign of the Lion.

broken. Let us, therefore, hope that we shall hear no more of a recent suggestion—in no circumstances a very happy one—that these Triumphs should be taken down from the walls, which they have adorned since the Cardinal's time (not having been removed even by the Vandals of the Commonwealth [2]), to be consigned to the frigid and uninteresting galleries of the South Kensington Museum.[3]

[1] Perfectness.

[2] They were valued by the Commissioners for the sale of Charles I.'s possessions at £47 ; but their removal from Hampton Court was interdicted by Cromwell.

[3] It has been said that they are neglected, decayed, and falling to

Rich tapestries, such as we have been describing, were the hangings used for the decoration of the 280 guest bedrooms, and the various great parlours, and presence and other chambers of the Cardinal's palace. For his own use, however, in his private rooms, he was bent on procuring something more gorgeous still. For this purpose, he again had recourse to Gresham, urging him, in an interview with him here, to make every effort to secure "sertayn clothes of golde for to hang in his closett at Hampton Corte."[1] Very shortly after, that enterprising merchant was able to write and inform "my Lord Cardynall's goode grace" that he had "sum eight pieces wyche I shalle brynge to your Grace the next weke, God be wyllynge."

These, however, were not sufficient, for two years after, in 1523, he bought "of the executors of my Lorde of Rothcalle," twenty-two pieces of silk hangings "for three closets at Hampton Court, of the white cloth of gold, blue cloth of gold, crimson velvet upon velvet, tawny velvet upon velvet, green velvet figury, and cloth of bawdekyn."[2] Of cloth of gold, also, were the "cloths of state," or canopies under which he sat at dinner, and the cloths on his tables at the same meal. His inventory includes several entries such as these: "a clothe estate of Riche clothe of golde, with valaunces and fringes, lyned with red damask," "one cloth of estate of redde clothe of tyssue fringed with crymsyn silk and venice gold, also one Rich clothe of estate embroidered with my Lord's arms."[3] Well might Cavendish in his metrical life of his master make him exclaim:[4]—

pieces on the walls of Hampton Court. Nothing could be more erroneous. They do not seem to have appreciably deteriorated during the last ninety years or so.

[1] Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, 3rd S., vol. i., p. 238, 9 March, 1521.

[2] Harl. MSS. 599, folio 5. Bawdekyn was cloth made partly of silk and partly of gold; derived from Baldacca, an Oriental name for Babylon, being brought from there.

[3] Folio 26.

[4] Singer's ed., 1825, vol. ii., p. 11.

My chambers garnished with arras fine
Importing personages of the liveliest kind
And when I was disposed in them to dine
My cloth of state there ready did I find
Furnished complete according to my mind;
The subtle perfumes of musk and sweet amber
There wanted none to perfume all my chamber.

Space will not allow us to do more than mention that there were, besides all these, innumerable hangings, curtains, and "traverses"[1] of various coloured velvets, of tawny and blue "sarcenet,"[2] and of red and green say, some "paned[3] violette and yalowe," and others green and red.

Wolsey had more difficulty in procuring carpets of a quality rich enough to match such splendid hangings, and to decorate his gorgeous rooms.

For "foot-carpets," or mats, as we should call them, "cupboard carpets," window carpets, and "table carpets" (table covers), he was content with such as could be purchased in England. Several table carpets of wool were, indeed, "of English making," some "having therein 3 great roundels, and 4 small roundels, with mullets in them of divers colours, having a small border of white, green, blue, red, and yellow colours upon black, and a larger border of white, yellow, blue and green colours upon red;" others "wrought with roses of divers colours, in the utter borders, pearled with white," others "with roses and pomegranates, the utter border being of yellow and sad tawny"[4]—a description that has a very decided æsthetic ring about it.

Of "window carpets" he had a hundred or more, some "with red roses, and knots of yellow, the borders of knots red

[1] Hangings or curtains made to form movable partitions or screens in large rooms.

[2] Folio.

[3] Shaded or inlaid in compartments of angular form, like diamond panes of glass.

[4] Harl. MSS., 599, folio 57.

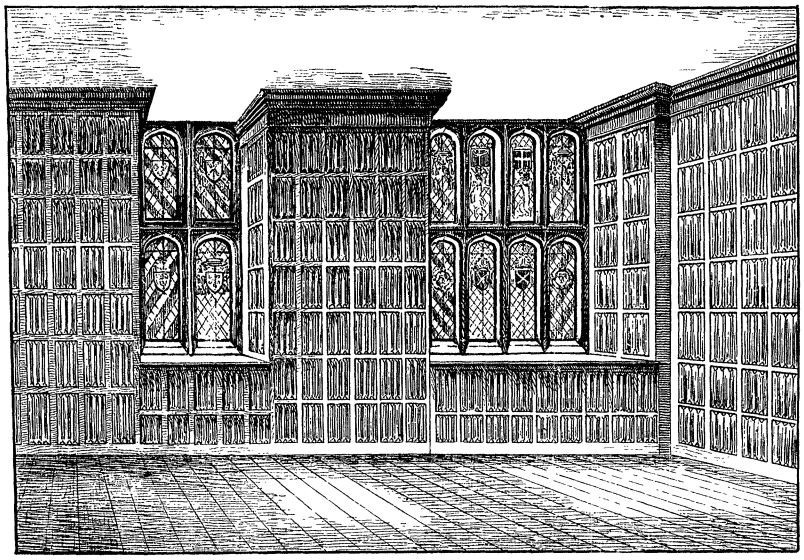
and green," some "with the ground full of small flowers and three great flowers, the borders blue," some "with the ground red, branched with yellow, and a border of white knots upon green," and others "with white flowers and crosses," and many similar patterns.

But for the floors of his more sumptuous chambers, such as his oak-panelled room,[1] of which we here insert a sketch, he would be satisfied with nothing less than the choicest carpets from the East. In an audience which he accorded the Venetian ambassador, on June 21st, 1518,[2] "his right reverend lordship requested him very earnestly" to use his influence with some Venetian merchants trading in the Levant, to procure him, "he paying for the same, certain choice carpets, and some other articles, but above all the carpets." Giustinian told Wolsey he did not know if there were any to be had, but if there were he should have them. "I suspect," remarks the ambassador, "that he will not be accommodated, which will prove a serious detriment to us; whereas had he received twelve or fifteen small handsome carpets, he would have been extremely satisfied." In the following November, however, the Cardinal was offered seven very handsome Damascene carpets by some Venetian merchants with whom he had been extremely angry, and who sought to conciliate him in this manner through the influence of Giustinian. But Wolsey would not deign to accept the carpets as a gift from them; and it was only after some demur that he consented to receive them as the joint gift of the ambassador and the merchants.[3] He had no compunction, however, about receiving such things as presents from foreign States; for Giustinian, who returned to Venice not long after this, stated, in a special report on

[1] This room adjoins the Cardinal's great room, which we described and gave an illustration of, on page 55.

[2] Giustinian's *Despatches*, vol. ii., p. 198.

[3] *Despatches*, vol. ii., p. 241.



Wolsey's Oak-Panelled Room in the Clock Court.

England which he made to the Doge and Senate, that "Cardinal Wolsey is very anxious for the Signory to send him a hundred Damascene carpets for which he has asked several times and expected to receive them by the last galleys." The ambassador urged the Senate to make the present, "as even should the Signory itself not choose to incur the expense, the slightest hint to the London factory would induce that body to take it on themselves," and this gift in the ambassador's opinion "might easily settle the affair of the wines of Candia," that is to say, induce the repeal of the duties on sack imported by Venetian subjects. "But to discuss the matter further," added he, "until the Cardinal receives his 100 carpets would be idle." "This present," he says further, "might make him pass a decree in our favour; and, at any rate, it would render the Cardinal friendly to our nation in other matters."[1] The Signory apparently took this view, for in Wolsey's Inventory is a reference to sixty carpets received from Venice on the 24th of October, 1521.[2]

[1] *Despatches*, vol. ii., p. 241.

[2] Folio 61.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CARDINAL'S FURNITURE, PICTURES, AND PLATE.

Two Hundred and Eighty Beds for Strangers—Superb Ceilers and Testors of embroidered Silks, Satins, and Velvets—His Counterpanes—Quilts—Beds of Down—Feather Beds—The Cardinal's own Bed—Mattresses—Pillow-Cases embroidered with Silk and Gold—Blankets—His Painted and Gilt Bedsteads with Cardinal's Hats—His Bed of Alabaster—Chairs of Cloth of Gold, of Velvet, of Satin, of Silk, of Red Leather emblazoned "with my Lord's Arms"—Cushions, Tables, Chests, Cupboards, Andirons, Napery—His Chapel—Jewelled Copes, Saints' Apparel, "A Coat for Our Lady"—His Pictures—His Jewels—His Ring—His Gold and Silver Plate—Its Amazing Value.

THE other furniture was of similar magnificence, and scarcely bears out the supposed discomfort and roughness of the good old times, on which some of our modern superior people complacently wax so eloquent.

As we have already noticed, there were at Hampton Court no less than 280 beds always ready for strangers; and from the Inventory[1] we find that there were scores upon scores of beds of red, green, and russet velvet, satin, and silk, with rich curtains and fringes of the same materials, and all with magnificent "ceilers" and "testors"—that is, canopies

[1] Folios 25-30, &c.

and backs.[1] We extract the description of a few in full:—

A new bed, paned with crimson tinsell satin, fringed with red & russet silk and Venice gold, the celar thereof with valances, and fine curtains of red & russet sarcenet.

A trussing bed,[2] *square, of blue velvet figury, enriched with flowers of gold; . . . the valances fringed with blue silk & fine gold of Venice with celar and testor.*

Also, a square bed paned with green & red velvet figury, fringed with red green and yellow silk, . . . with celar, testor & counterpoynte of the same; . . . & the said bed hath 5 *curtains of red, green & yellow sarcenet paned.*

The "counterpoyntes,"[3] or counterpanes, for these beds number several hundreds. Some of them were of "tawny damask, lined with blue buckram;" "blue damask with flowers of gold;" others of blue, green, and red satin, of blue, and yellow silk; one of "red satin with a great rose in the midst, wrought with needlework, and with garters," and another "of blue sarcenet, with a tree in the midst and beastes with scriptures, all wrought with needlework."[4] Then, besides several counterpanes of "counterfeit arras," one of which contained the story of the Romaunt of the Rose, there were some twenty counterpanes of fine old arras worked with figures and subjects;[5] fifty more of "veerdur" worked with "beastes and fowles and Roundilles in the middes with divers colours," with "conys," and with fleur-de-lys, &c.; a hundred counterpanes of coarse tapestry; and eighty-five coverlets of English wool.

Among the "quilts," and "down beds," we notice two as

[1] The word *ceiler* is equivalent to the French *ciel-de-lit*. The word *testor* signified the fixed upright back of the bedstead near the head.

[2] A *trussing* bed originally signified one that could easily be packed up for travelling.—*Palsgrave.*

[3] From the French *contrepoinct*, the back stitch or quilting stitch.—*Cotgrave.*

[4] Folio 30.

[5] Folios 32, 33.

possibly the Cardinal's own, one described as "of sarcenet paned white and green, with my Lord's arms and a crown of Thorn in the midst," and the other "a quilt of red sendalle[1] lined with linen cloth dyed green—given unto my Lordes grace by Maister Tonyes."[2] Of feather beds, with bolsters, a couple of hundred are inventoried, half of them, described as "coarse ticks filled with feathers," being for the use of the yeomen.

Among several hundred mattresses of wool, "covered with cress cloth, fine linen, cloth fustian and canvas," &c., we find entered as "new made" in October, 1527:[3]—

For a bedde for my Lorde's owne lying, 8 *mattresses, every of them stuffed with* 13 *pounds of carded wulle, and covered with* 12 *elles &* di, *of fyne hollande clothe.*

His pillow-cases[4] were of the same material: "two of them seamed with black silk and fleur-de-lys of gold; and the other two with white silk and fleurs-de-lys of red silk." Of blankets and sheets there are interminable entries. Perhaps the following were for the Cardinal's own use:—

Also, *newe made* [*the* 13*th of Nov.* 1527] *A blankette of ffyne cok-salle whyte, containg in length* 2 *yardes, and in bredith* 2 *yardes; ffurred with fyne whyte lambe.*

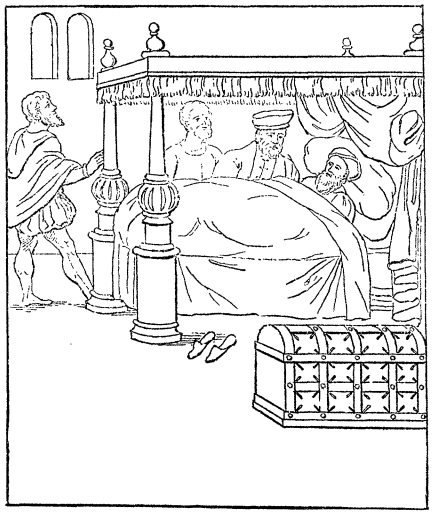
Also, *newe made the same tyme a blankette containing* 3 *bredys of whyte frese, every bredith being in length* 2 *yardes and* ½, *with fyne white lamb.*

His liking for luxurious bedding of this sort is touched on by Cavendish in the poem lately quoted, where he makes him exclaim after his fall:—

> What availeth now my feather beds soft
> Sheets of Raynes,[5] long, large and wide,
> And divers devices of clothes changed oft?

[1] *Sendal* was a kind of thin Cyprus silk.
[2] Folios 40, 42.
[3] Folio 44.
[4] "Pillowberes," see folio 49.
[5] *Rennes* in Brittany.

Which bedsteads among the many very magnificent ones described in the Inventory, were for Wolsey's own use, is not stated therein. Probably he slept in the "Greate Riche bedstede, having 4 gilte postes and 4 boulles, with Cardinall hattes gilte;" or in the "Trussing bedstede of alabaster with my Lordes arms and flowers gilt upon the sides;" or in the "Trussing bedstede, with 4 postys partly gilte and



Cardinal Wolsey in bed. From a contemporary drawing.

peynted, gevyn unto my Lordes grace by Maister Tonyes. *Mense Augusti anno* 18. Reg. H. VIII. [*i.e.* 1527]."[1] If he reclined in the first of these three beds his upturned eyes would meet a "ceilar" of red satin, "wrought with a great red rose of needlework, embossed, with garters and portcullis; with a valance and fringe of white, green, yellow, tawny, and blue silk."[2] Many other beds of equal gorgeous-

[1] Folio 73. Mr. Tony was a clerk in Wolsey's service.
[2] Folios 91-102.

ness are mentioned, some of carved and gilt oak and other wood, with ceilars and testers of right arras of old work, "with the sun in the ceilar;" with testers of hawking and fowling; with "fowls and beasts having banners about their neck with the arms of England and France;" "with small imagery of children bathing and playing in water;" with trees and divers beasts with scriptures, and with pictures "of our Lady and her son in her arms wrought with needlework."

The chairs, cushions, tables, chests, and cupboards that furnished Wolsey's palace were not less resplendent. We will notice a few among a mass of others of a similar nature. Thus, there were five chairs of state for the use of the Cardinal and his guests at banquets and other entertainments, one of which was "of cloth of tissue with a low back, fringed with gold of Venice," while there were two "of blue cloth of gold fringed with blue silk and gold of Venice," and two "of red cloth of gold fringed with Venice gold and red silk."

Several score more are noted, some with high backs, and some with low backs, of crimson, red, blue, and black velvet, with fringes of gold and silks of the same colours to match. One deserves, perhaps, to be particularly described, as being "covered with crimson velvet with fringes of red silk and gold, having letters of gold at the back, C and M, knit together, and roses and fire-irons (?), wrought of needlework and under the foot a great rose in a sun of like work."[1] Nor can we omit to notice the "5 Chairs, with high backs, new made and bought of Richard Gresham, embroidered with Cardinals hats and pomgranates having gilt panells." The entries relating to others are as follows:[2]—

Of the saide Chayres 4 *with high bakkes, every of them being*

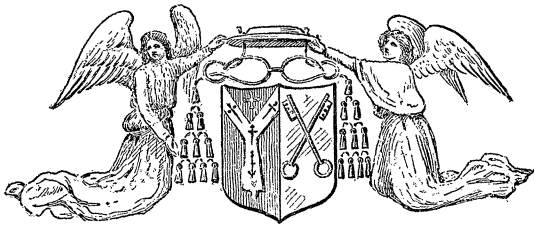
[1] Folios 62, 64. The initials C. M. were doubtless those of the original owner.
[2] Folio 108.

covered with blak velvette, having fringes of blak sylke, and a cardynalles hatte with a crosse of crymson satten and Venysse gold, wrought upon every of them.

Item 4 *chayres covered with Red lether, having high bakkes and fringes of grene threde wrought with chekers and roundilles of golde leather.*

Chayres covered with black velvette receyved of Richard Gresham into the wardrop at Hampton Court xix Augusti anno xvii R.

Received of the same Richarde Gresham the saide daye & yere, of the saide chayres covered with blak velvette, VIII, every of them having



Cardinal Wolsey's Arms as Archbishop of York. From a border of Tapestry in the Great Hall.

a high bak, fringed with grene sylke, with my lordes armes and his letters embrodered upon every of them, And also upon every of the same chayres, 4 *gilte pomellis.*

Many others of Naples fustian, of red leather, and of red cloth of gold were similarly emblazoned with "my Lords arms."[1]

We come next to several folios, detailing "my Lord's cusshyns," serving for chairs, windows, &c., two or three dozen of which were of cloth of gold, with tassels of different coloured silks. Others are mentioned "of grene velvet figury, which have my Lord's arms wrought upon them with

[1] Folios 62, 64, and 108.

knoppes of gold wire hanging upon the four corners;"[1] of violet satin on one side, and plain cloth of gold on the other; with tassels of violet silk and gold; and many others, old and new, embroidered with a cross and four lions, gold flowers and birds; one of blue velvet on one side and green on the other, for my Lord's mass book; crimson satin with my Lord's arms and an eagle; needlework, with a pelican; red bawdekyn, with stars and birds; carpet cushions with cockatrices, red harts, with blue crowns round their necks, and roses and ragged staves within a circle of daisies; of veerdours and tapestry, with "cadons," flowers, and a hart and birds; and one cushion of green say.[2] Further on there is this entry:[3]—

A cusshyn the one side pleyne clothe of golde, with a double roose wrought upon it; and in the middes of the same roose a leaberdes heede, and the other side grene velvet, having 4 *knoppes with tesselles of Venysse golde and grene sylke.*

a description which, with the other items, recalls the lines:

> Fine linen, Turkey cushions, bossed with pearl,
> Valance of Venice gold, in needlework.

We also find particularized as being at Hampton Court, tables of fir and of wainscot, one painted; round tables of cypress; cupboards of oak, panelled and plain; while four of the Cardinal's "chestes" at the same place are described thus:[4]—

ffirste a grete standarde, bounde with Iron; A cheste bounde with white plate; A grete flatte cheste of waynescotte; A long narough cheste.

The Cardinal's "andirons" were also articles on which

[1] Folio 65. [2] Brewer's *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. iv., p. 2767.
[3] Folio 89. [4] Folio 70.

much artistic decoration was lavished. For instance, he had eight pair made of brass, some displaying roses and his own arms, others with mermaids, with lions, with angels, and with fools on the tops. Of seventeen pair more of iron, six were enriched "with my Lordes armes and Cardinall hattes on the toppes," four with his arms and gilt balls, three with lions, five with dragons, two with balls, one with roses, and one with the arms of England. Twenty-two pair more displayed his own arms, gilt, with balls of metal; and a few had scutcheons and crosses of St. George, and double roses "on either side of their shanks." [1]

We may dismiss "the Inventory of my Lords napery" more briefly. Suffice it to say that for table or board-clothes he used the finest damask with flowers, "paned losinge-wise," and with diaper work; and his napkins were also "of dyaper damaske worke," with losinges and birds' eyes.

Those who are interested in the archæology of "cupboard clothes," "neck towels," washing towels, and so on, may turn to the original manuscript.[2] The Inventory, of course, includes in addition numberless trestles, forms, "boardes of oke made redy for tables," stools, cupboards, pewter basins, candlesticks, "fire forks," fire pans, &c.[3] And among various miscellaneous articles special mention is made of "chess tables with their men;" one of bone, with the men of the same; "a clock with all things thereunto belonging;" "ffumygation pannes of Iron;" "glasses to loke;" "an instrument of music in my Lord's grete dynyng chamber;" "stillatoryes;" fire screens, one made of wicker; and a pair of bellows, "having a man and a woman wrought upon them."

The Cardinal's armoury was not imposing. It consisted only of "2 pair brigandines, 3 sheaf of arrows, 2 canes, a broken bow, 2 halberts, one broken."

[1] Folio 109. [2] Folio 75.

[3] Folio 84.

"As for the furniture of his Chapel," says Cavendish,[1] "it passeth my capacity to declare the number of costly ornaments and rich jewells, that were used to be occupied in the same continually. For I have seen in procession about the hall 44 of very rich copes, of one suit, worn, besides the rich crosses and candlesticks and other necessary ornaments to the furniture of the same." There were, of course, numerous vestments, crosses, candlesticks, bells, censers, chalices, and pixes of gold and silver, and many images of saints. A curious item in regard to the images is the "Seyntes Apparell," with which they were clothed, according to the usage of that age. There were two "coats for our Lady," one of crimson velvet, guarded[2] with cloth of gold, and set with counterfeit pearls; the other of black damask, guarded with crimson velvet, and bordered with white satin; and also "a coat for her son," of black velvet, guarded with cloth of gold.

His pictures were, as became an ecclesiastic, chiefly of a religious type, consisting of altar-pieces for his chapel and private rooms. But that he also appreciated the new development of pictorial art, we have evidence in his bespeaking a picture of Quentin Matsys.[3]

For jewellery, of course, the Cardinal had but little use; but yet we find a goodly enumeration of rings, signets, aiglets, girdles, and chains, many of which were bestowed in presents to ladies and royal persons.[4]

There remains to be noticed the most valuable of all Wolsey's effects, namely, his gold and silver plate, of which he had so large an amount that the Venetian ambassador, Marco Antonio Venier, estimated what he saw in 1527, at Hampton Court alone, as worth 300,000 golden ducats, or

[1] Ed. 1852, p. 31.
[2] Faced or trimmed.—*Halliwell.*
[3] Brewer's *State Papers*, vol. ii., p. ccxlvii.
[4] Brewer, *ut ante*, No. 6789.

about £150,000,[1] which, if we are to multiply by ten to give the equivalent in modern coin, yields the astounding sum of a million and a half! Giustinian gives the same sum as the value of his silver in 1519;[2] and he informs us that wherever he might be, there was always a sideboard of plate worth £25,000, and in his own chamber a cupboard with vessels to the amount of £30,000. And in regard to this Cavendish[3] again makes him exclaim :—

> Plate of all sorts most curiously wrought,
> Of facions new, I past not of the old,[4]
> No vessell but sylver before me was brought,
> Full of dayntes vyands, the some cannot be told ;
> I dranke my wynne always in silver and in gold.

His gentleman-usher is not quite just in representing him as indifferent to old plate; for the inventories[5] made at his fall for the use of the King, which are still in the Record Office, prove that he owned much in the antique style. Nor must we suppose that his acquisitions were prompted merely by love of vulgar ostentation; on the contrary, the old records show that he was ever on the alert to procure articles of artistic workmanship. And his taste in this regard was exhibited, not only in his crosses, censers, monstrances, paxes, chalices, and such like sacred vessels, but likewise in his chains, rings, staffs, seals, and candlesticks; while the descriptions of his goblets, cups, flagons, bowls, basins, ewers, plates, saucers, dishes, &c., of gold, of silver, and of silver gilt, show that his collection, could it be brought to the hammer at Christie's, would outdo those of all modern collectors. To cite a few entries out of hundreds, he had a bowl of gold,

[1] *Calendars of State Papers, Venetian*, 1527-1533, No. 205. The golden ducat was worth about ten shillings.

[2] *Report on England, Giust. Desp.*, vol. ii., p. 314.

[3] Singer's ed., vol. ii., p. 11.

[4] I cared not for.

[5] Brewer, vol. iv., Nos. 30, 42-8, pp. 2771.

"with a cover garnished with rubies, diamonds, pearls; and a sapphire set in a collet;" several sets of thirteen spoons, with Christ and the Apostles; quantities of gold spoons; gold saltcellars, garnished with jewels and stones; six bowls with silver gilt covers, with "doppes" about the covers, and lions, birds, &c.; six more with covers with leopards' heads, roses, pomegranates, and pelicans; and another half dozen ornamented with Cardinal hats and the Queen's arms; a basin and ewer "pounced and enamelled with fleur de lys;" many basins with roses, sunbeams, and "my Lord Cardinal's arms," and so on.[1]

[1] The inventories of Wolsey's plate are printed in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. ii., pp. 283, 334.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CARDINAL'S HOUSEHOLD AND RETINUE.

His Five Hundred Retainers—His Officers of the Hall—Open Table—Kitchens—The Master Cook—Eighty Servants in the Domestic Offices—A Hundred more in the Outer Offices—His Stud of a Hundred and Fifty Horses—Six Grey and White Mules for "my Lord's Saddle"—His Stables—His Chapel—Sixty Priests in Copes in Procession—His beautiful Choir of Forty Voices—A Hundred and Sixty Personal Attendants—Gentlemen Ushers—Nine or Ten Lords—His Retinue as Lord Chancellor—The Object of his Magnificence—Private Life of the Cardinal at Hampton Court—His Dress—His Appearance—Portrait of him—His Evening Walk in his Garden—Fond of Hunting—His Progresses to Westminster Hall—His Attendants on Horseback—The Pillars and Poleaxes—The Crosses—The Great Seal—His Red Hat.

RICH as was the furniture of the Cardinal's palace, and vast as was its extent, it was only just adequate to meet the requirements of the enormous and splendid household which he maintained.

The estimates given of the number of his retainers are various, but we shall be safe within the mark if we put them down as consisting of at least 500 persons.[1] Among these were many lords and gentlemen of the first families in England, who, according to the custom of that age, took up

[1] See note, p. ccxlvii., in Brewer's *Introd.* to vol. ii. of *Letters and Papers*, &c.

their residence with the great ecclesiastics for the political and educational advantages thereby to be gained.[1]

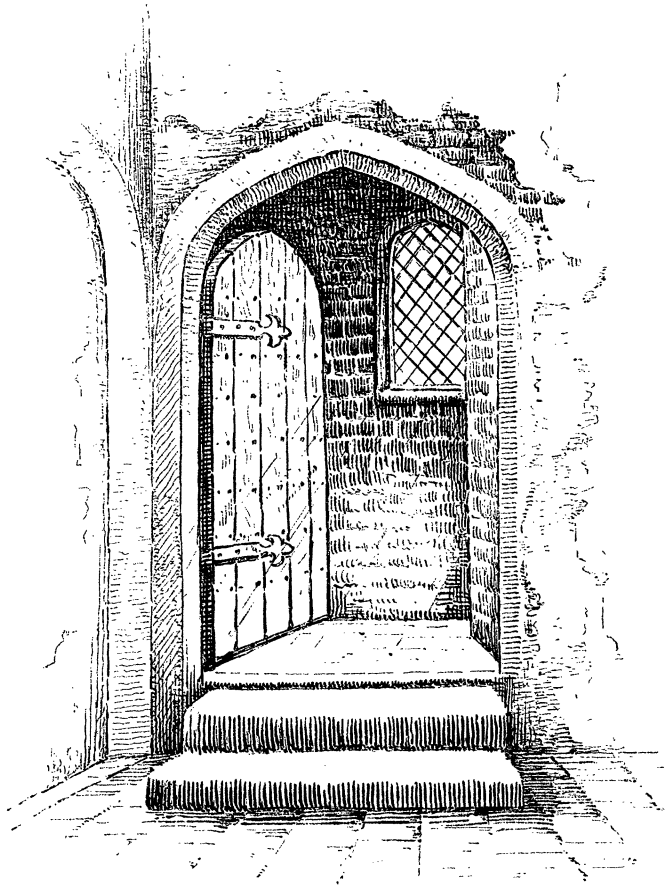
His hall, in which there was constantly kept open table, was presided over by three officers—a steward (who was always a priest), a treasurer (who was a knight), and a comptroller (a squire). These were assisted by a cofferer, who was a doctor, and numerous marshals, yeomen, ushers, grooms, and almoners. He had two principal kitchens, one being the privy kitchen for his own table. Here reigned his master-cook, a functionary attired in velvet and satin, and wearing a gold chain round his neck. The small room where he sat and gave his orders to his subordinates, may still be seen, opening into one of the great kitchens, now used as a lumber room, on the north of the old palace. The servitors in the other kitchens and the adjoining offices (which also remain pretty much in their original state) were upwards of eighty in number, and consisted of assistant cooks, yeomen, grooms, and labourers of the kitchen, scullery, pastry, scalding house, saucery, buttery, ewery,[2] cellar, wafery, bakehouse, &c. Besides these there were the hall-kitchen, with two clerks of the kitchen, a clerk comptroller, a surveyor of the dresser, a clerk of the spicery and two master-cooks and twelve assistant cooks, and labourers and children of the kitchen.

Nearly a hundred servants more were employed in his wardrobe, laundry, woodyard, &c.; and at the porter's lodge at the great gate were two yeomen and two grooms.

The Cardinal's stud and stable were, of necessity, on a similar scale. Like the King, he had a master of the horse; and also a clerk of the stable and a yeoman of the same, a saddler, farrier, a yeoman of his chariot, a sumpter man, a yeoman of his stirrup, a muleteer, and sixteen grooms

[1] Cavendish, ed. 1852, p. 30.

[2] The *Ewery* was the office where the ewers were kept. Our ancestors always washed before and after dinner.



Doorway of the Master-Cook's Chamber in the Great Kitchen.

besides helpers. Of horses and mules, besides upwards of a hundred serving for his household, for his escort, and for carts, there were "six horses to wait on my Lord at Hampton Court and other places," and six grey and white ambling mules "for my Lord's own saddle."[1]

The old Tudor stables at Hampton Court, which are in the same style as the rest of the palace, were probably begun by Wolsey, though apparently afterwards enlarged by Henry VIII.[2] They stand near the river, on the road to



Cardinal Wolsey's Stables.

Hampton, outside the palace walls, and about two hundred yards from the entrance-gate. In the centre of the front that faces "Hampton Court Green," is an archway, leading into a courtyard or quadrangle, enclosed by buildings, where are the stalls and coach-houses, with dwelling-rooms above them for grooms and others.

The officers of his chapel were even more numerous still.

[1] Cavendish, and also Brewer, vol. iv., pp. 3039 and 3046.

[2] There are frequent items in the accounts, after 1529, relating to the "King's New Stables." The adjoining building to the west, also of red brick, is "The Queen's Stables," built by Queen Elizabeth in 1570. See *post.*

Besides sixty priests in copes, who attended the services on great festivals and walked before the Cardinal in procession round the cloisters of Hampton Court, there were: first, a Dean, "a great divine and a man of excellent learning;" then a Sub-dean; a repeater of the choir; a Gospeller, and a Pisteller, that is, two priests, who respectively sang the gospel and the epistle of the day at High Mass; twelve singing priests, twelve singing children, and sixteen singing laymen, besides "divers retainers of cunning singing men, that came at divers sundry principal feasts." These formed a choir that far excelled that of the King, who declared that, if it was not for the personal love he bore him, he would have boys and men and all. For his Majesty complained that "if any manner of new song should be brought unto both the said chapels to be sung *ex improviso*, then the said song was better and more surely handled" by the Cardinal's choir than his own.[1]

But even all these were exclusive of his personal attendants, who numbered no less than a hundred and sixty persons. They were: his High Chamberlain, his Vice-Chamberlain, twelve gentlemen ushers, daily waiters, eight gentlemen ushers and waiters of his privy chamber, nine or ten lords, forty persons acting as gentlemen cupbearers, carvers, sewers, &c.; six yeoman ushers, eight grooms of the chamber; six and forty yeomen of his chamber, "daily to attend upon his person;" sixteen doctors and chaplains, two secretaries, three clerks and four counsellors learned in the law. These, and many more whom we need not particularize, were constantly in attendance on him while he resided at Hampton Court; and the cost of entertaining them raised Wolsey's household expenses alone to something like £50,000 a year in modern reckoning.

[1] Brewer's *Introd.* to vol. ii. of *Letters and Papers*, &c., p. ccxlvii., and No. 4024, March 25th, 1518.

As Lord Chancellor, he had an additional and separate retinue, almost as numerous and various—clerks, running footmen, armourers, minstrels, serjeants-at-arms, heralds, &c.

The display of such pomp and splendour could not fail to rouse to fury such austere puritanic spirits as Skelton and Roy, who, being unable to recognize anything in magnificence but the outward show, looked on it only as vulgar ostentation. The late Mr. Brewer, who made so deep a study of Wolsey's administration, and analyzed his character to its very elements, attributes his taste for the magnificent to its true motives. "He was resolved,"[1] he says, "to invest his new dignity with all that splendour and magnificence, which no man understood better, or appreciated more highly than he did. Even in that age of gorgeous ceremonial, before puritan sentimentalism had insisted on the righteousness of lawn sleeves; when the sense aches with interminable recitals of cloth of gold, silks and tapestries, even then amidst jewelled mitres and copes, a Cardinal in his scarlet robes formed a conspicuous object. Not that Wolsey was the slave of a vulgar vanity; magnificent in all his doings—in plate, dress, tapestry, pictures, buildings, the furniture of a chapel or a palace, the setting of a ring, or the arrangements for a congress, there was the same regal taste at work, the same powerful grasp of little things and great. A soul as capacious as the sea, and minute as the sands upon its shores, when minuteness was required he would do nothing meanly. The last great builder this country ever had, the few remains that survive him show the vastness of his mind and the universality of his genius."

Wolsey himself, in answer to the upbraidings of Dr. Barnes, one of the new puritanic sect, vindicated himself by asking: "How think ye? were it better for me, being in the honour and dignity that I am, to coin my pillars and

[1] Introd., *ut supra*, p. ccxlvi.

pole-axes, and give the money to five or six beggars? Do you not reckon the commonwealth better than five or six beggars?" To this Dr. Barnes, who himself tells the story, answered that he reckoned it "more to the honour of God and to the salvation of his soul, and also to the comfort of his poorer brethren, that they were coined and given in alms." To such theories, Wolsey had much too much love of art and of magnificence to assent,—

> yet in bestowing
> He was most princely: Ever witness for him
> Those twins of learning, that he raised in you,
> Ipswich and Oxford!

While at Hampton Court, Wolsey, though not so overwhelmed with labour as when in London, found little time for exercise or recreation. He rose early, said usually two masses in his private closet, and by eight o'clock, after having breakfast and transacting some private business, he came out of his privy chamber in his Cardinal's robes,[1] his upper garment, which was "either of fine scarlet, or else of crimson satin, taffety, damask, or caffa, the best that could be got for money, and upon his head a round pillion, with a noble of black velvet set to the same in the inner side; he had also a tippet of fine sables about his neck."[2] He then gave audiences and received any person of importance.

[1] Brewer's *Introd.* to vol. ii. of *Henry VIII.'s State Papers*, p. ccxxxv.

[2] Cavendish, vol. i., p. 43, ed. 1825. There is a bill in the Record Office for "Wolsey's apparel," the items of which amount to about £3,000 according to modern reckoning. Among them are charges for "crimson and black velvet, black damask, red chamlet," for "black satin, for a night bonnet, and for a doublet for his grace," and for "crimson and purple satin, rich cloth of gold tissue," &c.—*State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., p. 1203. So particular was he to have the exact cut and colour of the robes and hats worn by the cardinals in Rome, that he instructed the English ambassador to send him patterns, as "there be none here that can make the said habit."—Brewer's *Introd.*, *ut supra.*



CARDINAL WOLSEY.

FROM THE PORTRAIT (ATTRIBUTED TO HOLBEIN) IN CHRIST CHURCH COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Of his appearance when attired in his Cardinal's robes, the best idea is afforded by his portrait, still preserved at his college of Christchurch, of which an engraving is here inserted.[1] He was at this time about forty years old, and is described by the Venetian ambassador as "very handsome;" though Skelton and Roy,[2] his satirists, both speak of him as being disfigured by the small-pox; and Skelton, in addition, taunts him with being—

So full of melancholy
With a flap afore his eye—

probably a hanging eyelid.[3]

The rest of the day was occupied with reading, writing, and signing despatches and other documents, corresponding with the King, and inditing instructions to countless agents abroad. In the afternoon, if any time remained, he took his recreation by walking in his galleries and cloisters when the weather was rough, and strolling in his park or garden when it was fine. Even then, however, his mind was not at rest, for Cavendish tells us he was accustomed to walk towards evening in his garden to say his even-song, and other divine service with his chaplain. And elsewhere he assures us that "what business matters soever he had in the day, he never went to his bed with any part of his divine service unsaid, yea, not so much as a single collect."[4] The same delightful biographer gives us, in his metrical life of his master, a pleasing picture of his habit of evening recreation:—

My galleries were fayer, both large and long,
To walk in them when that it lyked me best;

[1] Mr. Brewer, in his *Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. i., p. 60, mistakenly speaks of this picture as being at Hampton Court. The only portrait of the Cardinal here is a small, insignificant copy, in the mantelpiece of Henry VIII.'s "Great Watching Chamber."

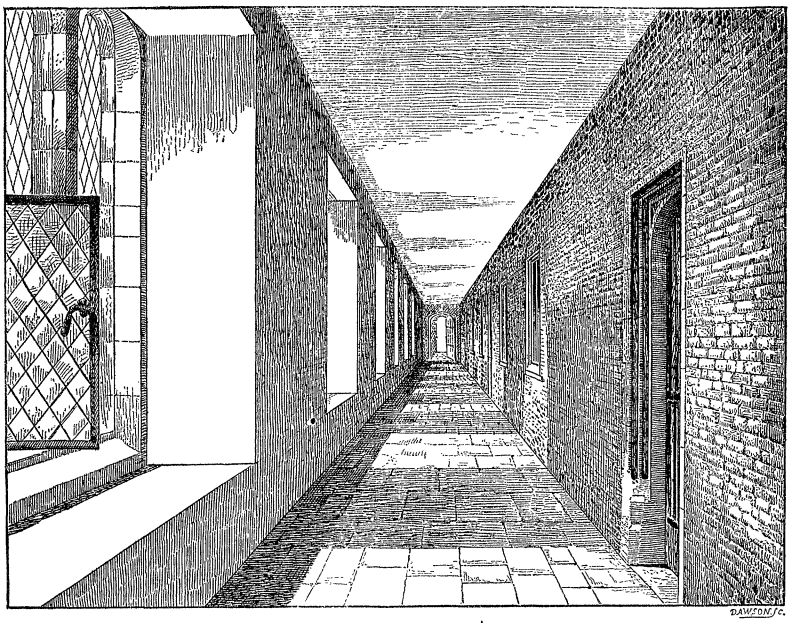
[2] For Roy, see note, p. 93.

[3] "*Why come ye not?*" &c., line 1166.

[4] *Life*, vol. i., pp. 42, 233, 246.

My gardens sweet, enclosed with wallés strong,
Embanked with benches to sytt and take my rest,
The knotts so enknotted, it cannot be exprest ;
With arbors and alyes so pleasant and so dulce,
The pestylent ayers with flavors to repulse.

This stanza gives a vivid idea of Wolsey's old garden at



Wolsey's Low Gallery, on the Ground Floor of the South Range in the First Court.

Hampton Court; though, unfortunately, but few traces of it now remain. It was situated to the south of the Base and Clock Courts, where can still be seen the enclosed parterres —known as the Pond Gardens—which were laid out, as we shall see further on, by Henry VIII. And along the

very pathway, by which thousands of careless sightseers, in the summer months, now flock to see the great vine, paced the myriad-minded Cardinal three hundred and sixty years ago, pondering his mighty schemes of imperial politics.

Occasionally, however, Wolsey took more active exercise; sometimes indulging even in a little sport. Thus, we find Fitzwilliam (afterwards Earl of Southampton), asking him to come over from Hampton Court to Chertsey and dine with him, when he would "bring him where he could kill a stag with his bow, and another with his greyhound;"[1] and at another time, the King expresses his gratification "that he had liked his pastime of hunting with him," and wished him to come again, that they might "have the pastime together two or three days."[2]

When term began, he had to return to London to sit daily in Westminster Hall. His progresses from the palace on these occasions were made with the greatest display, his ordinary pomp as Cardinal being swelled by that of his office of Lord Chancellor. As he entered from his Privy Chamber, "apparelled all in red, as a Cardinal," into his Chamber of Presence, which was thronged with servants and "noblemen and very worthy gentlemen," waiting to attend him, he was preceded by his pursuivant-at-arms, with a great mace of silver gilt, and by his gentlemen ushers calling out: "On, my lords and masters, on before; make way for my Lord's grace." In this manner he passed from his Presence Chamber through the hall, and down to the door, where he mounted his mule.[3] Here the whole procession was formed, everyone almost being on horseback. First went the Cardinal's attendants, attired in liveries of crimson velvet with gold chains, and the inferior officers in coats of scarlet, bor-

[1] *State Papers, For. and Dom., Hen. VIII.*, vol. iv., No. 2407, August, 1526.
[2] Do., No. 4766, Sept., 1528.
[3] Cavendish, pp. 43, 86; and Brewer, vol. ii., p. ccxlviii.

dered with black velvet. After these came two gentlemen bearing the great seal and his Cardinal's hat, then two priests with silver pillars or poleaxes, "and next two great crosses of silver, whereof one of them was for his Archbishoprick, and the other for his legacy, borne always before him, whithersoever he went, or rode, by two of the most tallest and comeliest priests that he could get within all this realm." Then came the Cardinal himself "very sump-



Cardinal Wolsey in Progress. From a contemporary drawing.

tuously on a mule trapped with crimson velvet, and his stirrups of copper gilt." He was followed by four footmen with gilt poleaxes in their hands, and many other followers, his yeomen being in French tawny liveries, having embroidered on the backs and breasts of their coats the letters T and C under the Cardinal's hat. The annexed sketch, taken from an ancient drawing, exhibits the Cardinal and suite setting out.[1]

[1] This illustration and those on pages 75, 117, and 119, are taken from Singer's edition of Cavendish.

With regard to these progresses, Roy[1] asks :—

Doth he use then on mules to ryde?
Yea, and that with so shameful pryde
 That to tell it is not possible :
More like a God celestiall
Than any creature mortall
 With worldly pompe incredible.

Before hym rydeth two prestés stronge,
And they beare two crosses ryghte alonge,
 Gapynge in every man's face :
After them followe two layemen secular,
And each theym holdynge a pillar
 In their hondes, steade of a mace.[2]

Then followeth my Lord on his mule
Trapp'd with gold under her cule
 In every poynt most curiously ;
On each syde a pollaxe is borne,
Which in none wother use are worne,
 Pretendynge some hid mistery.

Then hath he servants five or six score,
Some behind and some before,
 A marvellous great companye ;
Of which are lordes and gentlemen,
With many gromes and yemen,
 And of also knaves among.

[1] Roy was a Franciscan friar who had joined the Reformed faith, and published at Strasburg in 1527, jointly with a fellow-friar named Barlow, a satire entitled *The Burial of the Mass*, or *Rede me and be nott wrothe*, which contained much libellous matter against Wolsey. The Cardinal wrote from Hampton Court to Rynck, a German agent and friend of his, to arrest the authors and buy up all the copies of the book. Roy and Barlow, however, had in the meantime taken the alarm and fled.—See Arber's reprint of the satire, pp. 12 and 56.

[2] The "crosses" and "pillars" are also celebrated in Cavendish's metrical life, and of course animadverted on by Skelton several times. The pillars implied that the person, before whom they were carried, was a "pillar of the church." That the Cardinal had a right to the "ensigns and ornaments" he used, is shown by Anstis in a letter to Fiddes, in the Appendix of his *Life of Wolsey*.

A greate carle he is and fatt,
Wearing on his hed a red hatt.

The "red hat" was, like a red rag to a bull, a special source of irritation to, and a target for the scorn of, his numerous enemies.

Whiles the red hat doth endure,
He maketh himself cock sure;
The red hat with his lure
Bryngeth all things under cure.[1]

And even Sir Thomas More flung sarcasms at it in the House of Commons. Some of this rancour is, however, not surprising, if we are to believe the assertion of Tyndale,[2] that, when it first arrived from Rome, it "was set on a cupboard and tapers about, so that the greatest Duke in the land must make curtesie thereto."

The Cardinal's progresses to and from Hampton Court were not always performed by land. Sometimes he chose the river, and embarked in his magnificent state barge "furnished with yeomen standing on the sails, and crowded with his gentlemen within and without."

[1] Skelton, l. 278.

[2] *Works*, p. 375, ed. 1573.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FOREIGN AMBASSADORS ENTERTAINED.

The Cardinal visited by the Foreign Ambassadors—His Genius for Foreign Politics—His Vast Power—Controls every Department of State—Satirized for his Magnificence—His numerous Enemies—His Power begins to wane—Surrenders Hampton Court to the King—But still resides there—French Commissioners at the Palace—The Negotiations with Wolsey and Henry VIII.—Katharine of Arragon's Rooms—Diplomatic Skill of the Cardinal—Treaty of Hampton Court—He entertains the French Ambassadors and their Suite—Great Preparations for their Reception—The Cardinal's vast Cellars and Stores—They arrive—The Banquet—My Lord Cardinal comes in booted and spurred, and toasts the French and English Kings—"Glorious Report" made abroad of his Wealth.

WHEN Wolsey was residing at Hampton Court, he was continually receiving visits from the foreign ambassadors, who sometimes rode down from London to have audiences of him, and sometimes remained as his guests for a few days. On these occasions he did not fail to impress them with his own influence beside the King, and the greatness and power of this country. Their despatches home constantly dwelt on these topics, and enhanced the weight of England's voice in the councils of Europe.

If any special embassy came into the kingdom, it was to Wolsey's palace that they were first directed; by him they

were received in almost regal state, and to him they addressed their diplomatic arts. "All ambassadors of foreign potentates," says Cavendish, "were always despatched by his directions. His house was always resorted to and furnished with noblemen, gentlemen, and other persons, with going and coming in and out, feasting and banquetting all ambassadors divers times, and other strangers right nobly."[1]

Of the Cardinal's position in regard to foreign powers, no better idea can be formed than from Mr. Brewer's eloquent vindication of him, which we cannot refrain from quoting here:—"The bent of his genius," says he, "was exclusively political, but it leaned more to foreign than domestic politics. It shone more conspicuous in great diplomatic combinations, for which the earlier years of the reign furnished favourable opportunities, than in domestic reforms. No man understood so well the interests of this kingdom in its relations to foreign powers, or pursued them with greater skill and boldness. The more hazardous the conjuncture, the higher his spirit soared to meet it. His intellect expanded with the occasion. . . . Proud cardinal and proud prelate were the terms lavished upon him by men as proud as himself, with much less reason to be proud. . . . From a humble station by his own unassisted efforts he had raised himself to the most conspicuous position, not in this nation only, but throughout the whole of Europe. 'He was seven times greater than the Pope himself,' is no exaggeration of the Venetian Giustinian, for he saw at his feet what no pope had for a long time seen, and no subject before or since, princes, kings, and emperors courting his smiles. Born to command, infinitely superior in genius to those who addressed him, piercing their motives at a glance, he was lofty and impatient. But there is not a trace throughout his cor-

[1] *Life of Wolsey*, vol. ii., p. 112, ed. 1827.

respondence of the ostentation of vulgar triumph or gratified vanity. Grave and earnest, it occasionally descends to irony, is sometimes pungent, never vainglorious. . . . In genius, in penetration, in aptitude for business and indefatigable labour he had no equal. All despatches addressed to ambassadors abroad or at home passed through his hands, the entire political correspondence of the times was submitted to his perusal and waited for his decision."[1] And this is only in accordance with contemporary testimony. "He is omnipotent," says Erasmus,[2] writing to Cardinal Grimani. "All the power of the State is centred in him," is the observation of Giustinian; "he is, in fact, *ipse rex*, and no one in this realm dare attempt aught in opposition to his interests."[3] Such a position in the state could not fail to expose him to bitter assaults from his numerous enemies. Skelton bursts out again :—

Why come ye not to Court?
To whyche Court?
To the Kynges Courte,
Or to Hampton Court?
Nay to the Kynges Court:
But Hampton Court
Hath the preemynence,
And Yorkes Place,[4]
With my lorde's grace,
To whose magnifycence
Is all the conflewence,
Sutys and supplycacyons
Embassades of all nacyons.

And on the same topic Roy satirically inquires :—

Hath the Cardinall any gay mansion?

[1] *State Papers*, vol. iii., p. ccxxx.
[2] *Epistles*, vol. ii., p. 2.
[3] Giust., *Desp.*, vol. i., pp. 137, 215.
[4] Wolsey's palace in London, afterwards called Whitehall.

To which the answer is :—

Great palaces without compareson ;
Most glorious of outward sight
And within decked poynt device,
More lyke unto a paradice
Than any earthy habitation.[1]



Cluster of Chimneys over some of Wolsey's Guest-Chambers in the North Wing.

But it was not only satirists and reformers who hated and maligned him. He had long been regarded with

[1] Arber's reprint of the *Rede me and be nott wrothe.*

aversion by the aristocracy, who viewed with disgust the rise of the haughty upstart, and by the courtiers and politicians, who envied him, and disliked or could not understand his policy.

And now at last the influence of the King, on whom he had alone depended, was beginning to forsake him. One of the first indications of this was Henry's asking him, with unmistakable signs of jealousy and displeasure, "Why he had built so magnificent a house for himself at Hampton Court?" "To show how noble a palace a subject may offer to his sovereign," is supposed to have been his adroit reply;[1] whereon the King at once accepted the offer, and the lease of the manor of Hampton Court was surrendered into his hands. With the palace was included all its costly furniture, tapestries, and plate—forming assuredly the most magnificent gift ever made by a subject to his sovereign!

The exact date of this event has been variously stated, and has given rise to some discussion. Stowe, in his "Annals," places it in 1526;[2] other writers later still. But that it had been handed over to the King at least as early as June 25th, 1525, is proved from a letter of Jehan le Sauche to "Madame," preserved in the Vienna archives, in which he tells her that the Cardinal has given his house at Hampton Court, with all its appurtenances and furniture, to the King. "Henceforth he will lodge as any other of the King's servants. Il me semble que l'on appelle cela: Je vous donne ung cochon de vostre pourcheau au grant merchys du vostre"[3]—that is, "I give you one of your own pigs, at your own charge." The question is, however, one of some little perplexity; for while Wolsey long previous

[1] There is no historic warrant for this anecdote; but it appears in all recent accounts, and is given for what it may be worth.

[2] Ed. 1615, p. 526.

[3] *Calendars of State Papers, Spanish*, vol. iii., part 1, p. 209.

to this date—even as early as March 7th, 1521—dated his letters to Henry, "From *your* manor," or "At your grace's manor of Hampton Court," yet he continued, some years after he had certainly parted with it technically to the King, to write, as he had previously done, in letters not addressed to the King, "From *my* manor of Hampton Court." [1]

In any case, until the time of his disgrace, he continued to make use of it as though still entirely his own. In 1526 he spent nearly the whole of August here; and on the 8th of that month, in this palace, a treaty was signed, by him on behalf of Henry VIII., and by the French ambassador on behalf of Francis I., by which it was agreed that neither sovereign should assist the Emperor against the other, and that the King of England should use his best endeavours for the liberation of the French king's sons, then captives in Spain.[2] Here, also, this summer, he received constant visits from the ambassadors of the various great powers,[3] especially from the Venetian ambassador and the Papal Nuncio, who employed all their skill in their interviews with him to win the alliance of the English King. But the Italians, subtle as they were, rarely failed, in their diplomatic encounters, to be discomfited by the shrewd Englishman.

In March, 1527, the French commissioners, Gabriel, Bishop of Tarbes, and Turenne, who had come from France to negotiate a treaty of alliance between the two kingdoms, and of marriage between Francis I. and the young Princess Mary, then but ten years old, were invited by Wolsey to Hampton Court, to resume the discussions that

[1] Jan. 16th, 1528, he writes to Jerningham, dating, "My manor of Hampton Court."—Brewer's *State Papers*, vol. iv., No. 2756. On Aug. 6th, 1526, Lawrence Stubbs, Wolsey's secretary, writes to him, and says, "Your building at Hampton Court go forward." In 1528, however, the expenses of the works were borne by the King. See Do., vol. v., p. 303.

[2] Leonard, *Recueil des Traitez de Paix*, vol. ii., p. 256.

[3] *Calendars of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. 1520-26, Nos. 1227, 1374, 1377, 1382, 1387. Do., *Spanish*, vol. i., pp. 629, &c.

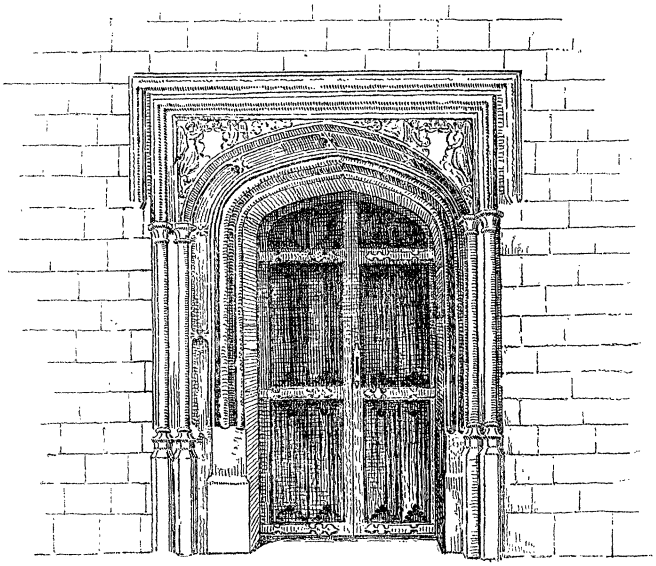
had been opened at London and Greenwich.[1] The King and Queen were of the party, and probably the little Princess, who was the chief subject of the negotiations, and whom the bishop declared to be "the pearl of the world, and the jewel that his Highness, Henry VIII., esteemed more than anything in the earth."

Dodieu, the secretary to the embassy, kept a detailed diary of the proceedings. On Monday, the 25th, the ambassadors dined with the Lord Mayor of London, and after dinner rode down to Hampton Court, or rather "to the village at the end of the Park"—probably Hampton Wick. Next morning they went over to the palace, and were received by Wolsey. The King was in the chapel at mass; but in the meanwhile Wolsey received the ambassadors, and conferred with them, urging that they should recommend to Francis I. the acceptance of his proposals, of which the main points were that a perpetual offensive and defensive alliance should be concluded between England and France; that England should at once make war against the Emperor, set the Pope at liberty, and restore the Papal dominions to him; and that France should pay England a large annual subsidy. When Henry came out of chapel, Wolsey brought the ambassadors up, and presented them to him in the hall, on which he told them he had sent for them to be with him till they could receive answers from the French King to their letters, and decide on the proposals submitted. After that they dined with Wolsey, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lord Exeter; and after dinner went upstairs with Wolsey to join the rest of the company in the Queen's chamber. There they found the King, who entered into a friendly and informal conversation with them, talking of Luther and the heresy, and of his own book, "showing himself to be very learned."

The room in which Katharine received the ambassadors

[1] Brewer's *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv., No. 3105, p. 1406.

after dinner on this occasion, no longer exists; but of its locality there is little doubt. It was situated, with the rest of the apartments which Wolsey kept always at her disposal in his palace, on the second floor in the eastern side of the "Inner" or "Clock Court;" and though most of that range was transformed and partly rebuilt by George II., the



Entrance to Katharine of Arragon's Rooms.

stately entrance to Katharine's rooms still remains undamaged. Carved in each spandrel of the doorway are two cherubs, the supporters of Wolsey's shield; but the shield itself, though its outline is distinct enough, displays no cognizances—the arms of Wolsey having been probably obliterated after his fall.

When the Queen and her ladies retired, they fell to

business again, Wolsey eventually taking them into his own room, and going into the subject at length. Nothing material was, however, settled; and in the evening they went back to their lodgings in the village, and a day or two after returned to town.

We need not follow the subsequent course of the negotiations, nor dwell on the consummate skill with which Wolsey shifted his ground, and played with and perplexed the French King's representatives. "We have to do," they exclaimed to Francis, "with the most rascally beggar in the world, and one who is wholly devoted to his master's interest —a man as difficult to manage as can be!" [1]

A treaty was eventually concluded on the basis of Wolsey's proposals,[2] which included the paying by France of an annual tribute of salt, 50,000 crowns annually by way of pension, and some two millions of gold crowns to be paid by convenient instalments.[3] It was ratified at Amiens in the month of September, 1527, when the Cardinal went on his mission to France to meet Francis I. On account of its having been negotiated in Wolsey's palace, it is known to history as "The Treaty of Hampton Court." [4]

Towards the end of October in the same year a great embassy, consisting of the Grand Master and Maréchal of France, Anne de Montmorency, Du Bellay, the Bishop of Bayonne, the President of Rouen, and M. d'Humières, with a retinue of a hundred persons "of the most noblest and wealthiest gentlemen in all the Court of France," with captains of the guard and their followers, to the number of five or six hundred horse, came over to England, solemnly to confirm the compact, and invest Henry with the Order of

[1] Brewer's *Introduction to Letters and Papers*, vol. iv.

[2] Rymer's *Fœdera*, xiv., p. 195, April 23rd.

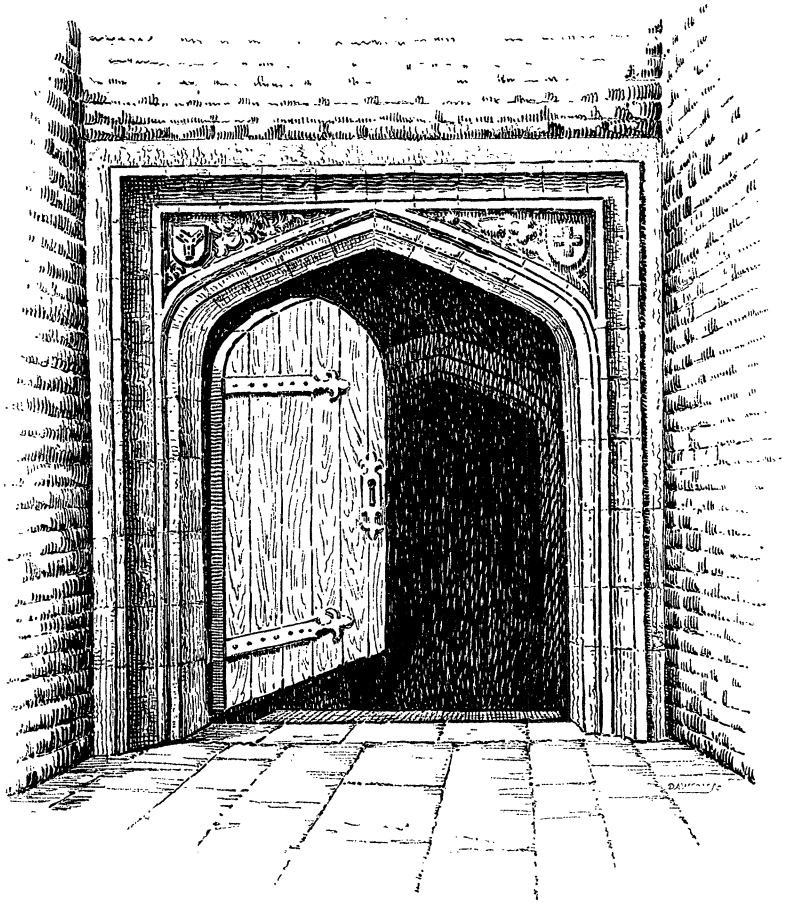
[3] Rymer, *ut supra*. The *State Papers* contain frequent entries of the annual payments.

[4] Leonard, *Recueil des Traitez de Paix*, vol. ii., p. 286.

St. Michael.[1] After being received and regaled in London and at Greenwich, they were taken to visit Wolsey at Hampton Court, where the grand master and all his companions were, says Du Bellay, for four or five days, "festoyé de tous les festimens qui se pouraient souhaitter."[2] Of this entertainment Cavendish gives so delightfully quaint and vivid a description that, though somewhat long, it would be spoilt by abridgment, and consequently we offer no apology for quoting it here at length :—

"Then was there no more to do but to make provision at Hampton Court for this assembly against the day appointed. My Lord Cardinal called for his principal officers of his house, as his Steward, comptroller, and the clerks of his kitchen—whom he commanded to prepare for this banquet at Hampton Court; and neither to spare for expenses or travail, to make them such triumphant cheer as they may not only wonder at here, but also make a glorious report in their country, to the King's honour and that of his realm. His pleasure once known, to accomplish his commandment they sent forth all the caterers, purveyors, and other persons, to prepare of the finest viands that they could get, either for money or friendship among my Lord's friends. Also they sent for all the expertest cooks, besides my lord's, that they could get in all England, where they might be gotten, to serve to garnish this feast. The purveyors brought and sent in such plenty of costly provision, as ye would wonder at the same. The cooks wrought both night and day in divers subtleties and many crafty devices; where lacked neither gold, silver, ne any other costly thing meet for the purpose. The yeomen and grooms of the wardrobes were busied in hanging of the chambers with costly hangings, and furnishing the same with beds of silk, and other furniture apt for the same in every degree."

[1] *Memoires de Martin du Bellay*, vol. ii., p. 30. [2] Do.



Entrance to Cardinal Wolsey's Cellars.

At this point we may notice the picturesque old doorway, which gave access into the spacious cellars, where the Cardinal's vast stores of costly wines and provisions were kept. The cellars themselves were transformed and enlarged by Henry VIII., after Wolsey's death, but his arms were suffered to remain in the spandrels of the doorway, as may be seen from the accompanying illustration. To resume Cavendish's narrative.

"Then my Lord Cardinal sent me, being his gentleman usher, with two other of my fellows, to Hampton Court, to foresee all things touching our rooms, to be nobily garnished accordingly. Our pains were not small or light, but travelling daily from chamber to chamber. Then the carpenters, the joiners, the masons, the painters, and all other artificers necessary to glorify the house and feast were set at work. There was carriage and re-carriage of plate, stuff, and other rich implements; so that there was nothing lacking or to be imagined or devised for the purpose. There were also fourteen score beds[1] provided and furnished with all manner of furniture to them belonging, too long particularly here to rehearse. But to all wise men it sufficeth to imagine, that knoweth what belongeth to the furniture of such triumphant feast or banquet.

"The day was come that to the Frenchmen was assigned, and they ready assembled at Hampton Court, something before the hour of their appointment. Wherefore the officers caused them to ride to Hanworth, a place and park of the King's, within two or three miles, there to hunt and spend the time until night. At which time they returned again to Hampton Court, and every of them conveyed to his chamber severally, having in them great fires and wine ready to refresh them, remaining there until their supper was ready, and the

[1] Fourteen score, that is, 280 beds, is the exact number mentioned by Du Bellay; see *post*, p. 111.

chambers where they should sup were ordered in due form. The first waiting-chamber was hanged with fine arras, and so were all the rest, one better than another, furnished with tall yeomen. There was set tables round about the chambers banquet-wise, all covered with fine cloths of diaper. A cupboard [1] of plate, parcel gilt; having also in the same chamber, to give the more light, four plates of silver, set with lights upon them, and a great fire in the chimney.

"The next chamber, being the chamber of presence, hanged with very rich arras, wherein was a gorgeous and precious cloth of estate hanged up, replenished with many goodly gentlemen ready to serve. The boards were set as the other boards were in the other chamber before, save that the high table was set and removed beneath the cloth of estate, towards the midst of the chamber, covered with fine linen cloths of damask work, sweetly perfumed.

"There was a cupboard, made for the time, in length of the breadth of the nether end of the same chamber, six desks high, full of gilt plate, very sumptuous, and of the newest fashions; and upon the nethermost desk garnished all with plate of clean gold, having two great candlesticks of silver and gilt, most curiously wrought, the workmanship whereof, with the silver, cost three hundred marks, and lights of wax as big as torches burning upon the same. This cupboard was barred in round about that no man might come nigh it; for there was none of the same plate occupied or stirred during this feast, for there was sufficient besides.[2] The plates that hung on the walls to give light in the chamber were of silver and gilt, with lights burning in them, a great fire in the chimney, and all other things necessary for the furniture of so noble a feast."

[1] A sort of buffet with a succession of step-like desks or stages, on which the plate was displayed.

[2] Compare the account of the Cardinal's plate on page 81.

The aspect of one of these banqueting rooms, as described by Wolsey's gentleman-usher, is admirably portrayed in a drawing by Nash, of which the annexed plate is a reduced facsimile. His unrivalled taste and archaic feeling has enabled him to render its general effect with great exactness and fidelity; though in regard to the old Tudor room in which he has laid the scene, the ceiling, which still exists and is here shown, dates from a period a little subsequent to Wolsey's death.[1] The moment chosen is that spoken of a little further on, when the Cardinal, "putting off his cap," drank to the two allied monarchs, Henry VIII. and Francis I.

"Now was all things in a readiness, and supper time at hand. My lord's officers caused the trumpets to blow to warn to supper, and the said officers went right discreetly in due order and conducted these noble personages from their chambers unto the chamber of presence where they should sup. And they, being there, caused them to sit down; their service was brought up in such order and abundance, both costly and full of subtleties, with such a pleasant noise of divers instruments of music, that the Frenchmen, as it seemed, were rapt into a heavenly paradise.

"Ye must understand that my lord was not there, ne yet come, but they being merry and pleasant with their fare, devising and wondering upon the subtleties.

"Before the second course, my Lord Cardinal came in among them, booted and spurred, all suddenly, and bade them *proface*;[2] at whose coming they would have risen and given place with much joy. Whom my Lord commanded

[1] The room itself probably belonged to Wolsey's palace, but it was redecorated for Henry VIII., under the name of the "King's Great Watching Chamber" in 1535. See Chapter XIV., p. 180.

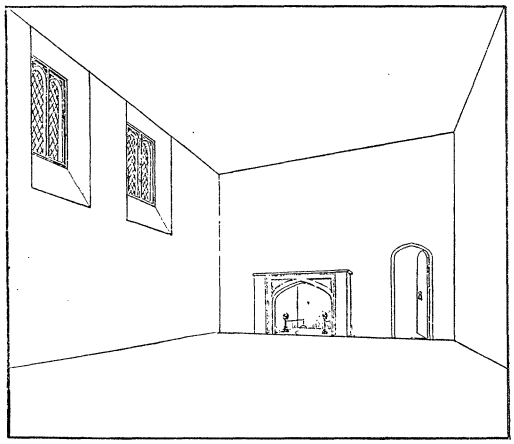
[2] *Proface.* An expression of welcome equivalent to "Much good may it do you." It is the same word as the Norman-French or Romance *Prouface*, "qui veut dire Bien vous fasse," and comes from the Latin *proficiat*. (Singer's notes to Cavendish.)

to sit still and keep their rooms; and straightways being not shifted of his riding apparel, called for a chair, and sat himself down in the midst of the table, laughing and being as merry as ever I saw him in all my life. Anon came up the second course with so many dishes, subtleties, and curious devices, which were above a hundred in number, of so goodly proportion and costly, that I suppose the Frenchmen never saw the like. The wonder was no less than it was worthy indeed. There were castles with images in the same; Paul's church and steeple, in proportion for the quantity as well counterfeited as the painter should have painted it upon a cloth or wall. There were beasts, birds, fowls of divers kinds, and personages, most lively made and counterfeit in dishes; some fighting, as it were, with swords, some with guns and crossbows; some vaulting and leaping; some dancing with ladies, some in complete harness, justing with spears, and with many more devices, than I am able with my wit to describe. Among all, one I noted: there was a chess-board, subtilely made of spiced plate, with men to the same; and for the good proportion, because that Frenchmen be very expert in that play, my Lord gave the same to a gentleman of France, commanding that a case should be made for the same in all haste, to preserve it from perishing in the conveyance thereof into his country.

"Then my Lord took a bowl of gold, which was esteemed of the value of five hundred marks, filled with hypocras,[1] whereof there was plenty, putting off his cap, said, 'I drink to the King my Sovereign Lord and Master, and to the

[1] *Hypocras*, according to Dyce (*Skelton's Works*, vol. ii., p. 285, note), "was a favourite medicated drink, composed of wine, usually red, with spices and sugar"—in fact, a sort of claret cup. "It is generally supposed to have been so named from Hippocrates (often contracted to 'Ipocras'), perhaps because it was strained—the woollen bag used by apothecaries to strain syrups and decoctions for clarification being termed Hippocrates' sleeve." We have already seen, at p. 43, Wolsey's drinking of hypocras censured by Skelton.

King your Master,' and there-with drank a good draught. And when he had done he desired the Grand Master to pledge him, cup and all, the which cup he gave him; and so caused all the other lords and gentlemen in other cups to pledge these two royal princes. Then went the cups merrily about, that many of the Frenchmen were fain to be led to their beds. Then went my Lord, leaving them sitting still, into his privy chamber to shift him; and making there a



Outline of one of Wolsey's Guest-Chambers in the First Court.

very short supper, or rather a small repast, returned again among them into the chamber of presence, using them so nobly, with so loving and familiar countenance and entertainment, that they could not commend him too much.

"And whilst they were in communication and other pastimes, all their liveries were served to their chambers. Every chamber had a bason and a ewer of silver, some gilt and some parcel gilt, and some two great pots of silver in like manner, and one pot at the least with wine and beer, a bowl

or goblet, and a silver pot to drink beer in; a silver candlestick or two, with both white lights and yellow lights of three sizes of wax; and a staff torch; a fine manchet, and a chet-loaf of bread.[1] Thus was every chamber furnished throughout the house, and yet the two cupboards in the two banqueting chambers not once touched. Then being past midnight, as time served they were conveyed to their lodgings to take their rest for that night. In the morning of the next day (not early), they rose and heard mass, and dined with my Lord, and so departed towards Windsor, and there hunted, delighting much of the castle and college, and in the Order of the Garter. They being departed from Hampton Court, my Lord returned again to Westminster, because it was in the midst of the term."

The fame of the Cardinal's hospitality spread far and wide; for the Venetian ambassador writes, on November 8th,[2] to inform the Doge and Signory: "Great honours are still being rendered to the French ambassadors. Cardinal Wolsey lately entertained the Lord Steward for three days' hunting at Hampton Court, the palace being sumptuously decorated. He is still there,[3] to see at his leisure the Cardinal's side boards of gold plate, estimated in England at 300,000 ducats. The vessels (peri) are in truth very numerous and large and of gold; videlicet ewers, basins, pots, and other similar utensils."

The Frenchmen themselves, of course, did not fail to

[1] *A fine manchet* was a roll made of bread of the finest flour, and a *chet-loaf* is derived from *achet*, *i.e.*, bought-bread, as distinguished from the coarser bread made at home. "The manchet loaf of wheaten flour was for the master's table, the fine *chete* for the side-tables, and the brown bread for the board's end."—Parker's *Our English Homes*, p. 79.

[2] *Calendars of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. 1527-33, No. 205. From the *Sanuto Diaries*, vol. xlvi., p. 264.

[3] Cavendish's account would make it appear that they only stayed one night at Hampton Court; but in saying the visit lasted three or four days the Venetian is in accord with Du Bellay.

fulfil Wolsey's desire, and "make a glorious report in their country, to the King's honour and that of his realm." Du Bellay, while still in England, sent a despatch home, declaring how "the very chambers had hangings of wonderful value, and every place did glitter with innumerable vessels of gold and silver. There were two hundred and fourscore beds, the furniture to most of them being silk, and all for the entertainment of strangers only."[1]

The Marshal de Montmorency soon after returned to France, leaving Du Bellay, the Bishop of Bayonne, as ambassador at the English court.

[1] Though the authority of Du Bellay is given for this citation, in *Magna Britannia* (1724), and in other topographical works, it does not appear exactly in these words either in his *Despatches* or *Memoires*.

CHAPTER IX.

WOLSEY'S LAST DAYS AND FALL.

The Cardinal continues to receive Private Visits at Hampton Court—Offers Lodgings to Archbishop Warham—Du Bellay's Conferences with him—Truce of Hampton Court—The Sweating Sickness—Wolsey's Precautions—The King sends him some Pills—"The Cardinal Spider"—Wolsey's last stay at Hampton Court—His Fall—His Property confiscated—Banished to Esher—Falls ill—The King relents awhile—But persecutes him anew—His Death—His Character and Political Work.

THE banquet which we described in the last chapter, in honour of the French Embassy, was Wolsey's last great entertainment at Hampton Court. He still continued, however, to reside here, and to receive private visits from ambassadors and others. In the following month of December, we find him proposing to Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his predecessor in the office of Lord Chancellor, to come and recruit his failing health in the salubrious air of his renowned manor-house. This fact, and the friendly spirit in which the offer was entertained, are of considerable weight in refuting the charge brought against Wolsey of having ungenerously exercised unfair influences

to supplant Warham in the custody of the Great Seal.[1] For Warham, on the 12th of January, 1528, writes, effusively thanking the Cardinal for his manifold favours, and especially for offering "of your singular benignity and goodness, a pleasant lodging in your wholesome manor at Hampton Court, where I should not decease, neither be diseased, there to continue for the attaining of my health as long as I should think it expedient; by which excellent benevolence and gratitude, expressing evidently your Grace's very tender love to me, and by all other tokens and proofs of your Grace's assured and continual favour towards me and my servants, I repute myself so much bounden to your Grace, and think myself far unable to deserve or requite your Grace's said favours and great humanity."[2]

The ambassadors, of course, continued to be as assiduous as ever in their attentions; and Du Bellay, who spent five days with Wolsey at the beginning of the month of June, 1528, records in his despatches the points of several conversations he had "with him at Hampton Court, while he was walking in his gardens; among other things of the Pope's negotiations with the Imperialists, and his ingratitude to England."[3]

Here also he met the ambassadors of the Lady Margaret of Savoy, the Governess of the Netherlands, who were arranging the conditions of her entering the Anglo-French alliance.

A truce, which was to last eight months, was soon arranged between them. It was concluded on June 15th, and

[1] The libel was first put forth by Skelton (see *Why come ye not to Court*, l. 1112),—the truth being that Warham had often requested permission to retire from the Chancellorship before the King would accept his resignation, and that Wolsey only accepted it after the King's repeated solicitations (Dyce's. *Skelton*, vol. ii., p. 372. And see Lingard, vol. vi., chap. i.).

[2] Brewer's *Letters and Papers*, vol. iv., printed in Grove's *Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey*, vol. iv., p. 190.

[3] *Calendars of State Papers, ut supra*, vol. iv., Nos. 4332, 4391, and Appendix, No. 158; and Le Grand, *Histoire du Divorce*, vol. iii., pp. 130, 136.

solemnly confirmed, two days after, in the chapel of Hampton Court, the Cardinal, the envoys of the Lady Margaret, Du Bellay and the ambassadors of the Emperor being present, and the last two touching hands in token of amity;[1] although one of the terms was that hostilities with Spain were not to be altogether suspended. This truce, which must be distinguished from the peace spoken of on an earlier page, was called "The Truce of Hampton Court."[2]

After this, though Wolsey resided here a good deal, the troubled course of events, which were hurrying him to his doom, and the frequent prevalence of the sweating sickness, allowed him neither opportunity nor leisure for dispensing his splendid hospitality. At the end of June, and during the greater part of the months of July and August, 1528, he was staying at the Palace with a very few attendants, on account of a sudden and violent outbreak of that disease. No less than forty thousand persons in London were attacked; and although of these only two thousand died, yet the strangeness and suddenness of the seizures were well calculated to strike terror. "One has a little pain," writes the French ambassador, "in the head and heart; suddenly a sweat begins; and whether you wrap yourself up much or little, in four hours, sometimes in two or three, you are despatched without languishing."[3]

During the panic, Wolsey received several affectionate letters from the King, who, like the Cardinal, shut himself up quite alone, begging him to take care of himself, and cautioning him to "keep out of the air, to have only a small and clean company about, not to eat too much supper, or drink too much wine," and to take some pills which he had had made up for him, and sent him, telling

[1] Le Grand, vol. iii., p. 129. It was ratified at Paris on June 24th. Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiv., p. 258. For the articles of the Truce, see *State Papers, ut ante*, No. 4566.

[3] Brewer, vol. iv., No. 4391.

him to be of good comfort, and expressing his sorrow that he was so far away,[1] "to put apart fear and fantasies, and make as merry as he could in such a season contagious."[2] He took Henry's advice, and led a quiet and retired life.

When the danger of infection abated, Henry occasionally resided with the Cardinal for several days at a time;[3] and he was accompanied by his Queen, Katharine of Arragon, who, in January, 1529, wrote a letter to her brother, Charles V., from this palace.

At this point, as we are about to bid farewell to the great Cardinal, respect for tradition demands, perhaps, that we should notice the legend of the "Cardinal Spider." This enormous insect, with its fat reddish-brown body and its long jointed hairy legs, often attains the size of five inches in width; and, when seen crawling about a bed-room at night, will startle even persons of tolerably composed nerves. It is alleged to be a kind of spider peculiar to Wolsey's palace, and being in some mysterious way connected with his disastrous fate, to be destined for ever to haunt the scene of his former greatness. Such is the story. The fact, however, is, that this supposed unique specimen of the arachnida is well known to zoologists under the name "Tegenaria Guyonii or Domestica," a species which, though certainly found in extraordinary abundance in the old nooks and corners of Hampton Court, is yet not unknown elsewhere in the valley of the Thames.[4]

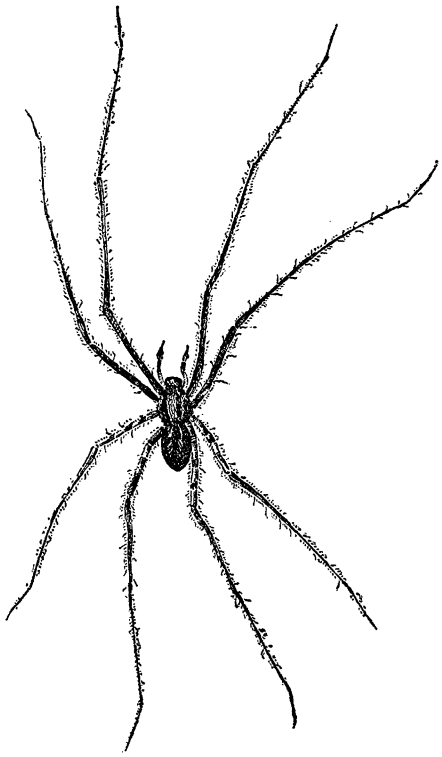
[1] *Calendars of State Papers*, Henry VIII., vol. iv., Nos. 4435, 4438. Wolsey's caution is exemplified by a despatch of Du Bellay, in which he says, "I applied to him again, and I think if I can speak to him to-morrow I shall gain my purpose, for he has consented that I shall go to the village of Hampton Court, when he will consider whether I shall speak by trumpet or by myself." (No. 4542, July 21st.)

[2] *State Papers*, vol. i., pp. 302, 310; and see Brewer's *Reign of Henry VIII.*

[3] In Sept. and Dec., 1528, Brewer *ubi supra*, Nos. 4766 and 5016; and in March, April, and July, 1529, Nos. 5476, 5681, 5806.

[4] See Blackwall's *History of the Spiders of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 160, *et seq.*

During the anxious period that followed the arrival of Campeggio in England, Wolsey, harassed on all sides, and filled with forebodings of his impending fate, often hid himself



Cardinal Spider.

in retirement at Hampton Court, where, because the sweating sickness was again virulently raging, "he fortified his gallery and garden, and would suffer only four or five persons to see

him."[1] This was on July 3rd, 1529, and it was the last time he ever set eyes upon his dearly-loved brick towers and courts. Two days afterwards he returned to London to



Seizure of the Cardinal's Goods. From a contemporary drawing.

attend the further sittings of the legatine court; and in a few weeks more—

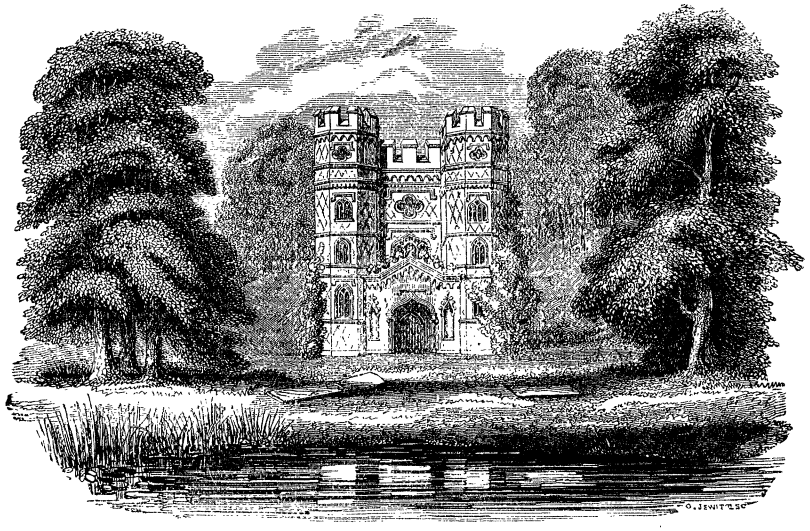
> Wolsey, that once trod the ways of glory
> And sounded all the depths and shoals of honour—

was flung from his high estate, banished the King's presence,

[1] Du Bellay to Montmorency. Brewer's *State Papers*, vol. iv., No. 5754.

stripped of his dignities, robbed of all his vast possessions and goods, and sent in disgrace to Esher Place.[1]

There he remained in retirement and disgrace for several months, brooding over his fallen greatness and the King's ingratitude;[2] while Henry, accompanied by Anne Boleyn, the Cardinal's most persistent enemy, installed himself close



Gateway of Wolsey's Palace at Esher.

by at Hampton Court.[3] Their proximity led to Wolsey's receiving almost daily messages from the Court, sometimes of hope, and sometimes of new hardships in store for him, so that he was kept in a continual state of anxious suspense, which so preyed on his mind, and worried his already feeble

[1] Cavendish, p. 247, ed. 1827. See *ante*, p. 34.

[2] See an interesting article on "Cardinal Wolsey at Esher," in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1877, by Mr. Walford.

[3] That he was here appears from the *Calendars of State Papers*, *passim*.

and shattered frame, that about Christmas time he fell dangerously ill. When the King heard that he was likely to die, he seemed to relent for a while, and to feel some remorse for his ungrateful treatment of one, whose only fault had been to have served him too well. He sent him messages of comfort, and a ring as a token of goodwill, and even in-



Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn sending Tokens of Goodwill to the sick Cardinal. From a contemporary drawing.

duced Anne Boleyn to send him a tablet of gold, hanging at her girdle, "with very gentle and comfortable words."[1]

But the machinations of his enemies were not suspended; and for fear of the King seeing and forgiving him, they got him banished to his diocese of York.

We need not follow him in the last few miserable months

[1] Cavendish, p. 288.

of his life, when every galling indignity, that the ingenuity of his enemies could devise, was heaped upon his head. On the morning of the 29th of November, 1530, at eight o'clock, the once proud Cardinal and mighty minister of Henry VIII., attended only by a few faithful followers, breathed his last in Leicester Abbey, a prisoner in custody of the Lieutenant of the Tower, on the charge of high treason against his sovereign lord the King.

It has not been our object in the foregoing remarks to regard Wolsey in any other than the purely domestic aspect, in which he bears relation to the history of Hampton Court. But we cannot forbear citing here a few sentences from the graphic estimate, drawn by Mr. Brewer in his introduction to the fourth volume of the "Calendars of State Papers" of this period, of the great Cardinal's political work. To that great and conscientious writer belongs the honour of having cleared away the clouds of misrepresentation which for nearly four centuries have obscured his fame and character, and which the all-piercing genius of Shakespeare alone had ever before penetrated. Possessing a knowledge of those times such as no man has ever before approached, and which it would be probably impossible for anyone to exceed hereafter, he has been enabled to reveal every motive and every act of Wolsey's administration in their true light. In the gigantic task of deciphering, arranging, and elucidating many thousands of documents of the first twenty years of Henry VIII.'s reign, which had lain for centuries uncared for and rotting in the damp and dust of the State Paper Office, he spared no pains and no self-sacrifice.

Yet while he was indefatigable in collecting from every possible source, every fact, however insignificant, that might throw light on the subject he had in hand, knowing full

well that exhaustive research can alone furnish grounds for sound historical judgment, few writers have excelled him in breadth of view and brilliancy of exposition.

Speaking of the death of Wolsey, he says: "So fell the great Cardinal, and the greatness and splendour of Henry's reign departed with him. There may be qualities which men desire more than these, and consider more conducive to the interest and happiness of nations; but these will not be denied to Wolsey's administration; nor, in these respects, can any of his successors be compared with him, for greatness and magnanimity are not the qualities we should attribute to Cranmer or to Cromwell. From a third-rate kingdom of little account in Europe, Wolsey raised this nation to an equality with the highest. For a time, at all events, peace and war depended on its fiat. It held the scales between the two great contending powers, and if that was a satisfaction to a proud and ambitious prince, Henry had the satisfaction of seeing the two most powerful monarchs of Christendom contending for his favour. No nation ever yet achieved greatness by its internal policy alone. It is only by mixing in the wide theatre of the world, by its external relations, by measuring its strength with others, that any nation attains to eminence; and without greatness, even its virtues are apt to reflect the littleness of its vices."[1]

And elsewhere he observes, "It was not in domestic affairs or local politics that the genius of Wolsey displayed itself to the best advantage, but in diplomacy and statesmanship. Unaided by fleets or armies, ill supported by his master, and by colleagues of very moderate abilities, he contrived by his individual energy to raise his country from a third-rate state into the highest circle of European politics. Englishmen have been so long accustomed to this supremacy,

[1] Introduction to vol. iv. of *Calendars of State Papers.*

are so sensitive to any diminution of their reputation and influence abroad, that they cannot recognize the difficulty of Wolsey's task, or the merits of the man who first conceived and realized this conception of his country's greatness. Gasping and enfeebled from the wounds of the Civil Wars, content to purchase internal tranquillity at the price of obscurity, menaced by Scotland on one side, by Ireland on the other, without fleets or armies, or a foot of colonial ground, —it required all the proud originality of genius to overlook the material disproportion of England and contend for the palm with the greatest and most ancient kingdoms in the world." [1]

[1] *Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., p. 136.

CHAPTER X.

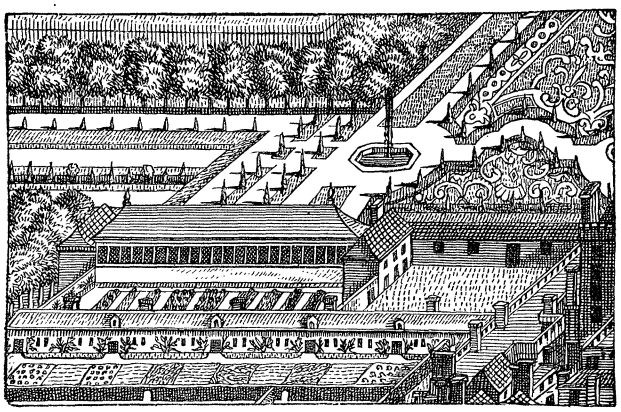
HENRY VIII. AND ANNE BOLEYN AT HAMPTON COURT.

Henry enters into possession of the Cardinal's Palace—Enlarges it—New Offices—New Buttery and Pantry—Affixes his Arms and Badges everywhere—Carving, Painting, and Gilding of these Devices and of his Heraldic "Beasts"—The King's Galleries—Their fretted Ceilings—The Original Bills for the Works at Hampton Court—Their Interest and Archæological Value—Italian Painters employed by the King—Toto del Nunziato—Henry VIII.'s Behaviour to Katharine of Arragon—Assembly of Learned Men to discuss the Divorce—The King and the Papal Nuncio—Henry passes his time with his "Own Darling Anne"—"The Lady Anne's Lodgings"—Henry lavishes large Sums on her—Pays for her Dresses—Gives her a Shooting Suit—Gives her a Black Satin Night-gown—Shooting in the Park—Cavendish announces Wolsey's Death.

AS soon as Wolsey had been banished to Esher, Henry hastened to enter into absolute possession of Hampton Court and all its treasures; and he immediately gave orders for the enlarging, improving, and still further embellishing of Wolsey's palace. Among the first things taken in hand was the adding to the "King's lodgings," as they were termed, of a new gallery, a new library and study, and several smaller rooms; while for his Majesty's recreation a "close bowling alley" and a "close tennys play," or tennis court, were built on the north-east of the palace. A new set of kitchens

and "offices appertaining to the same," such as a new buttery, pantry,[1] pastry, spicery, larder, dry-fish-house, cellar, &c., were also begun before Wolsey's death.[2]

Another of Henry VIII.'s first cares was to mark his ownership of the palace by affixing his arms and badges to every part of the building. We consequently find that the bills for the years 1530, 1531, and 1532 abound with



The Tennis Court and Close Bowling Alley as they appeared at the end of the seventeenth century.

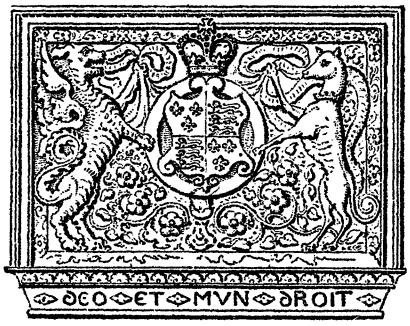
charges for carving of the King's arms, heraldic beasts, devices and badges in stone and wood, and for painting and gilding them. On every pinnacle and on every coping, on the gables and on the battlements, were lions, dragons, leopards, hinds, harts, greyhounds, and antelopes, carrying gilded vanes, emblazoned with the crown, rose, fleur-de-lys, and portcullis. Over the gateways also, in the west front

[1] "The Kynges new pantry" is at the west end of the Great Hall, in the Hon. Mrs. Law's and Lady Whichcote's apartments; and the joining of Henry VIII.'s brickwork to that of Wolsey may here be distinctly perceived.

[2] *Chapter House Accounts*, $C\frac{6}{10}$, folios 1-261, and $C\frac{6}{12}$, *passim*.

and the First or Base Court,[1] were fixed large stone tablets or panels, elaborately carved with the King's arms. These fortunately still remain, and for this reason it may be interesting to extract here the original entry for the working of them, and their cost :—

Also paid to Edmund More, of Kyngston, fremason, for makyng, karvyng, and intaillyng of the Kynges armes in thre sondry tables of fre ston, with severall bourders of antique worke and certen of the Kynges best, holding up in a shilde the Kynges armes, with the garter, poises, and scripture ingraved, and the crown imperiall wrought after



Henry VIII.'s Arms.

the best facion; whereof oon of the said tables conteyning 5 *fot and oon inche oon way, and* $6\frac{1}{2}$ *fot an other way, standythe over the great gate comying into the Base Court, and the second table of like mesure standithe over the inner part of the same gate, and the third table, conteyning* 5 *fot oon way, and* 3 *fot and* 5 *inches the other way, standithe over the utter part of the gate comyng into the inner court; in all for fornyshyng and setting up of the said thre sondry tables, with severall armes aforesaid, by convencion,* £34 4*s.* 10*d.*

[1] Base court signifies *Basse cour*, that is, where the servants' rooms and offices are situated. The word is rather a misnomer in the case of the First Court of Hampton Court, for the plan of the palace was so extensive as to admit of a distinct series of buildings on the north side of the main courts being exclusively devoted to those purposes.

In addition to this there was paid to "Henry Blakston of London, paynter, in all . . . for gyltyng and fynysshyng of the forsayd three severall armes, by taske worke, £10,"[1] though no trace of gold leaf now remains on them; and a special record is to be found of the "empcion of paynters' stuff to paynt" these arms, £4 being charged for fine gold.[2]

Indeed, every piece of ornamental work was painted and gilt in the most costly manner, especially "the Kynges beastes," for which we find many items like the following in the month of December, 1530:[3]—

3 *dragons, parcell gilt painted red, in oyle, holdyng* 3 *vanes with the Kynges armes doble, both the sydes gilt with every of them standyng upon a base paynted the Kynges colours, white & grene.*

About the same date, too, the services of John Delamayn, painter, were retained for as many as eighty-six days, "payntyng and guyldyng of antyke heds standyng round aboute within the Inner Courte,"[4] apparently the present Clock Court.

The garnishing of the interior likewise involved much expense and labour, especially that of "the upmost gallary," the roof being of rich antique work, gilded, and decorated with carved badges, leaves and balls, and angels with the King's words or mottoes on scrolls, with cornices and casements of like splendour.[5]

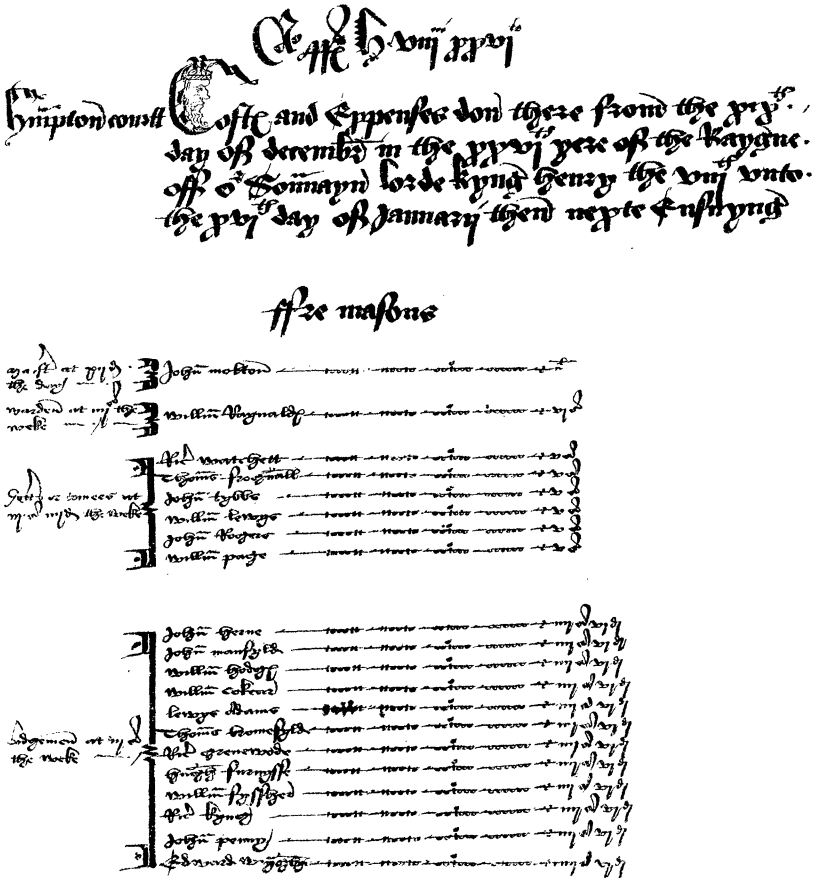
[1] The entry occurs three several times in vol. $C_{\frac{6}{12}}$ of the *Chapter House Accounts*, on folios 19, 139, and 410.

[2] Folio 528.

[3] Folio 103.

[4] Folios 133 and 345.

[5] With regard to these decorations, there is extant in the Record Office a letter from Sir John Godsalve to Eustace Mascall, clerk of the works at Hampton Court: "Send me as many golden balls as you can conveniently procure, and such fanes (vanes) and other things at your pleasure. Help the bearer in to the Spicery, to have an antique, which I left there. Send me also the head under the stair."—*Letters and Papers (Hen. VIII.)*, vol. vi., No. 576.



Fac-simile, reduced to ⅓ scale, of a page of the Original Accounts for the building of Hampton Court Palace, now preserved in the Record Office.

These galleries, which seem to have been brought into vogue by Wolsey some fifteen years before this,[1] were peculiar to English architecture, and as such were objects of curiosity and admiration to foreigners. An Italian,[2] the record of whose travels in England is preserved among the Venetian archives, and who visited the palaces, both at Whitehall and Hampton Court, which had formerly been the late Cardinal's, remarks with particularity on the "galleries, which are long porticoes or halls, without chambers, with windows on each side, looking on gardens or rivers, the ceilings being marvellously wrought in stone with gold, and the wainscot of carved wood representing a thousand beautiful figures; and round about there are chambers, and very large halls, all hung with tapestries."

The particulars which we have cited above relating to the painting and decoration of the exterior and interior of Hampton Court, and many similar ones which we shall notice further on, relating to the building and the works, are derived from the original manuscript bills still preserved in the Record Office, and comprised in twelve large folio volumes of some eight hundred or a thousand pages each. Most of them are written with exquisite care and neatness, and the headings of each fortnightly account (of one of which we annex a facsimile) are beautiful specimens of penmanship. They are replete with curious matter as to the cost of material, the price of labour, and the state of trade and the handicrafts generally, and afford a complete picture of the decoration and furniture, and even of the inner life, in the palace of Henry VIII. So elaborately and minutely were these accounts kept by the clerk of the works, that the name of every daily labourer,

[1] We hear as early as the year 1514 of glass being provided for "my Lord's gallery" at Hampton Court.

[2] Mario Savorgnano. *Calendars of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. 1527-1533, No. 688.

and of every mason, bricklayer, carpenter, joiner, painter, carver, glazier, gilder, and tiler employed, is set out in full from fortnight to fortnight, with the sum paid to him; while every portion of the work is so particularized that we can identify every carving, every moulding, every piece of colouring and gilding, and find by whom it was executed and what it cost. "We doubt," says Sir Henry Cole, no mean authority on such a point, "if a similar identification is possible with any other building of equal antiquity. After an experience of twenty years of the public records, we may say we know of none which give like information to these accounts of Hampton Court." [1]

Unfortunately, however, there are considerable lacunæ, the bills being very incomplete and fragmentary till about the year 1529, though from that time forward till about 1540, they become tolerably complete and continuous. Incidentally, in the course of our narrative, we shall notice, and give a few citations from, these valuable authorities; and in the appendix [2] we have collected copious extracts, under various headings, which will serve to illustrate the topographical side of this history, besides being of general archæological value.

In the same volume as that from which we extracted the particulars given above as to the carving and gilding of arms and badges, we find evidence of Henry's patronage of the fine arts. For there are entries of two or three payments to Toto del Nunziato (or Anthony Tote, as he was called in England), who, like Lucca Penni (Bartholomew Penne) and Holbein, was one of the foreign artists employed

[1] *Handbook to Hampton Court.*

[2] Sir Henry Cole, who was one of the first to draw attention to the great interest attaching to them, appended extracts to his *Handbook to Hampton Court*, published in 1839. The *Edinburgh Review* of the same year remarks: "The accounts contain much valuable information, and would be of much use to the industrious topographer."

by the King. The notices, which first occur in November, 1530, and are afterwards repeated later on, are interesting enough to be inserted here in full:[1]—

Payntynge of dyvers tabulls as ensuyth:—
To Antonye Tote, payntor, for the payntynge of 5 *tables stondyng in the Kynge's Lybarye:*
Ffirste, one table of Joachym and Sent Anne.
Item, another table how Adam dylffed in the grownde.
Item, the third table how Adam was droven owght of Paradyce.
Item, the fourth table, of the buryenge of our Lord.
Item, the fifth table, beynge the last table of the buryeng of our blessyd Ladye.
The sayd Antonye takynge for the sayd 5 *tables, by a bargain in gret—£6* 13*s.* 4*d.*
The Payntynge of 4 *tables in the Kynge's Closet:—*
Item, To Antonye Tote, paynter, for the payntyng of 4 *great tablys —that is to say, one table of our Lady of Petye; another table of the* 4 *Evangylysts; the third of the Mawndyth . . . The fourth? the sayd Antonye takyng for the sayd tables, by a bargen wyth hym made by great—£20.*

When Henry VIII. came to Hampton Court after the disgrace of the Cardinal, he was accompanied by Queen Katharine,[2] and at this time they both, says a foreign observer,[3] "paid each other reciprocally the greatest possible attention, or compliments in the Spanish fashion, with the utmost mental tranquillity, as if there had never been any dispute whatever between them. Yet has the affair not slackened in the least, as both parties are collecting votes in

[1] Folios 16 and 160. Other particulars relating to him will be found in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting.*

[2] He was here in the beginning of February, 1530. See Brewer's *State Papers*, vol. iv., No. 6227, and Nicolas' *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.*, p. 22. The King at this time inhabited the first floor in the Clock Court, the Queen her old rooms on the floor above, of which we have previously spoken on page 102, and the Princess Mary the ground floor. *Calendars of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. 1527-33, No. 688.

[3] Augustino Scarpinello to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, June 28th. *Calendars of State Papers, Venetian, ubi supra*, No. 584.

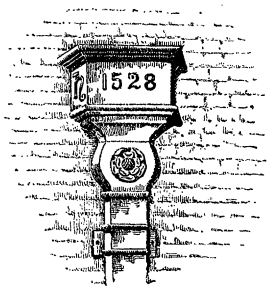
France, Italy, and other places. At any rate, this most virtuous queen maintains strenuously that all her King and lord does, is done by him for true and pure conscience's sake, and not from any wanton appetite."

The foreigner refers to the canvassing, that was then going on in Henry VIII.'s behalf, of the most learned divines and doctors of the Civil Law, in all the Universities of Europe, for an opinion favourable to the King's contention that his marriage with his deceased brother's wife was contrary to divine and natural law, and consequently null and void from the beginning. Pending their decisions, he summoned on August 11th, 1530, a numerous assembly of clergy and lawyers at Hampton Court, including Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and More, Lord Chancellor, "to ascertain whether, in virtue of the privilege possessed by this kingdom, Parliament could and would enact that, notwithstanding the Pope's prohibition, this cause of the divorce should be decided by the Archbishop of Canterbury."[1] Their answer to this question does not appear to have been very encouraging; so that Henry abandoned this idea for a while, and tried how he might influence the Pope by threats of setting his power at nought if his demands were not conceded. He sent for the Papal Nuncio to Hampton Court, and had a long conference with him, in which he told the Nuncio plainly that he was determined to carry out his intentions with regard to the divorce, and that at all hazards. Then, after reproaching the Pope for his conduct in the affair, he proceeded to declare "that if his Holiness would not show him in future more consideration than at present, he should take up his pen and let the world know that he (the Pope) possessed no greater authority than that held by Moses, which was only grounded on the declaration and interpretation of the Holy Scripture, everything beyond that being

[1] *Calendars of Spanish State Papers*, vol. iv., Nos. 411 and 460.

mere usurpation and tyranny, and that should he be driven to take such a step, the damage and injury thereby inflicted on the Apostolic See would be irreparable and far more fatal than that caused by the writings of others, for with his learning and rank, kings, princes, and all others would side with him." All this and much more the King spoke with a great appearance of regret, and with tears in his eyes.[1]

In the meanwhile, Anne Boleyn—the Lady Anne, as she was now called—was living at Hampton Court,[2] treated



Lead Water Spout, put up by Henry VIII.

with every consideration by her royal lover. A suite of rooms was superbly furnished for her accommodation, a retinue of attendants was appointed to wait on her,[3] and Henry passed a great part of his time in the society "of his awne darling," as he termed her, riding out with her,[4] teaching her to shoot at the target,[5] walking in the park, or strolling in the gardens in the summer evenings, and sometimes having supper with her in her own chamber.

Even as early as the year 1528, before the fall of Wolsey,

[1] *Spanish State Papers, ubi supra.*
[2] Brewer, *ut supra*, No. 6411, May 27th, and No. 6417.
[3] Le Grand, vol. iii., pp. 137 and 251.
[4] Cavendish, p. 175-80; and *Calendars of State Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. v., No. 308.
[5] *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 91.

the workmen were employed on "Anne Bouillayne's lodgynges at Hampton Courte;"[1] while after the Cardinal's death we come across further entries on account of what were then termed "the Lady Anne's lodgynges."[2] The King's privy purse expenses, also, contain notes of large disbursements on her account. At Christmas, 1530, he made her, at Hampton Court, a present of £100, at another time of £180, and again of £40, "to play with;" and, in addition, repaid her losses at bowls and other games.[3]

Large sums are likewise debited for her dress—for crimson satin, furs, purple velvet, and crimson cloth of gold; and for a shooting costume, with bows, arrows, shooting gloves, and other articles for archery.[4] And mention is especially made of a splendid nightgown of black satin, edged with black velvet, and lined with black fur, all the details of the cost, material, and making of which are minutely set out in the King's private account book, and which cost his Majesty £101 15*s.* 8*d.*[5] In fact, in three years he spent, on her dress alone, nearly £500, which must be regarded as an enormous sum, when we bear in mind that the then value of money was about twenty times what it is now. His extravagant outlay, where she was concerned, contrasts strangely, indeed, with the niggardly gifts he was accustomed to bestow on his daughter Mary, on whom he spent, in a whole year, not a fifth part of the sum he lavished on his "entirely beloved sweetheart's" nightgown.[6]

He delighted also in bedizening her with the most costly jewels, and had the crown jewels sent from Greenwich to Hampton Court for the purpose.[7]

[1] *Chapter House Accounts*, $C\frac{6}{16}$, folio 110.
[2] Do., $C\frac{6}{12}$, folios 121, 196, 597, 615.
[3] Nicolas' *Privy Purse Expenses*, Introduction.
[4] Do., pp. 44, 47, 50, &c.
[5] Do., p. 221.
[6] See Madden's *Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary*, p. liv.
[7] *Letters and Papers* (*Hen. VIII.*), vol. v., No. 1335.

Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn were at Hampton Court when the news of Wolsey's death reached the King. Cavendish, who hastened to court to give him the details of his last hours, found him shooting at the rounds in the park. "Perceiving him occupied in shooting," writes Cavendish, "I thought it not my duty to trouble him, but leaned to a tree, intending to stand there, and to attend his gracious pleasure. Being in a great study, at the last the King came suddenly behind me where I stood, and clapped his hand upon my shoulder, and when I perceived him, I fell upon my knee. To whom he said, calling me by name, 'I will,' quoth he, 'make an end of my game, and then will I talk with you,' and so departed to his mark, whereat the game was ended.

"Then the King delivered his bow unto the yeoman of his bows, and went his way inward to the palace, whom I followed; howbeit he called for Sir John Gage,[1] with whom he talked until he came at the garden postern gate, and there entered; the gate being shut after him, which caused me to go my ways.

"And being gone but a little distance, the gate was opened again, and there Sir Harry Norris called me again, commanding me to come in to the King, who stood behind the door in a nightgown of russet velvet furred with sables; before whom I kneeled down, being with him there all alone the space of an hour and more, during which time he examined me of divers weighty matters concerning my lord, wishing that liever than £20,000 that he had lived."[2]

[1] His portrait is at Hampton Court. See the author's *Historical Catalogue.*

[2] *Life of Wolsey*, p. 398, ed. 1827.

CHAPTER XI.

HENRY VIII.'S SPORTS AND PASTIMES.

Henry VIII.'s Private Life at Hampton Court—His Sports—The Parks—The Game—Deer—Partridges and Pheasants—Hares and Rabbits—Hunting—Fishing—Tournaments in the Tilt Yard—Their Splendour—The Towers and Galleries for the Spectators—The King's Feats of Horsemanship—Shooting at the Butt—Plays Tennis—Account of the Tennis Court—Bowls—Fond of Gambling—His Love of Music—Songs of his own composition—"Pastime with Good Company"—Boasts of his Constancy in Love—His Literary Tastes—His Library—His frequent Migrations to and from Hampton Court.

HENCEFORTH Hampton Court became one of the favourite palaces of Henry VIII., who, while he resided there, devoted much of his time to those sports and athletic exercises in which he was so great an adept, and to which he was always much attached. "His Majesty," writes the Venetian ambassador, three days after Wolsey's death, "is staying at Hampton Court, where he resides willingly;" and a few days after he records that he is still there, "enjoying his usual sports (sportj) and royal exercises; and the Queen remains constantly with him, nor does she at all omit to follow her lord and husband, so much reciprocal courtesy (mansuetudine) being displayed in public that anyone acquainted with the controversy cannot but consider their

conduct more than human."[1] Six months afterwards, however, on the 14th of July, 1531, Henry took his leave of Katharine at Windsor, and rode to Hampton Court, never to see her again.[2]

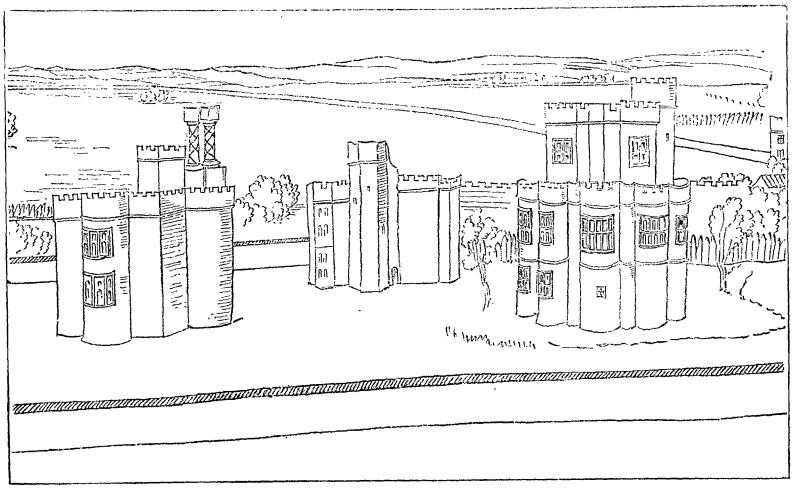
No other of the King's houses, indeed, was so well adapted for the pursuit both of outdoor and indoor amusements. The parks were extensive, and immediately after coming into possession he had caused them to be well stocked with deer and other game; and Windsor Forest, and Richmond, Oatlands, and Hanworth Parks were also within easy reach. In his love for the chase he resembled his ancestor William the Conqueror; and so keen a sportsman was he that Giustinian assures us "he never took this diversion without tiring eight or ten horses, which he caused to be stationed beforehand along the line of country he meant to take."[3] Shooting and hawking were sports to which he was equally addicted; and he had a large rabbit warren made in Bushey Park, and reared both partridges and pheasants.[4]

Occasionally, also, he angled for fish in the Thames, or in the ponds in the garden, which were well filled for the purpose. In his privy purse expenses we find payments to fishermen for bringing him rods to Hampton Court, and for helping him to fish there.[5]

For jousts and tournaments, in which he frequently took part, a large piece of ground, of about nine acres in area, called "The Tilt Yard" (now degraded into a kitchen garden),[6] was chosen. Here the lists, superbly decorated, were set out, and surrounded by the pavilions of the cham-

[1] *Calendars of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. 1527-33, Nos. 637, 642.
[2] Hall's *Chronicle*, fol. 781, ed. 1548.
[3] *Despatches*, vol. i., p. 27.
[4] See Appendix F, No. vii., and Chapter XV.
[5] Nicolas, pp. 65 and 83.
[6] Rented from the Crown by Mr. Jackson, a fruiterer of Kingston. It is on the north side of the Outer Green Court, now called the Barrack Yard.

pions, ornamented with their arms and banners; and all around were the stands and stages, hung with tapestries and embroideries of gold and silver, for the spectators, who were themselves "decked in sumptuous array, the field presenting to the eye a rich display of magnificence." In various parts of the ground, also, were five towers, one of which still remains, whence an admirable survey of the



Towers in the Old Tilt Yard. From a drawing by Wynegaarde (1558).

scene could be obtained; while another point of vantage was the gallery, still existing, in the north-west angle of the palace,[1] from which there is an admirable view of the whole field. "We may also add the splendid appearance of the knights engaged in the sports; themselves and their horses were most gorgeously arrayed, and their esquires and pages, together with minstrels and heralds, who superintended the ceremonies, were all of them clothed in costly and glittering

[1] In Mrs. Chesney's apartments. See the folding plate of Wynegaarde's drawing of the north of the palace, *post.*

apparel. Such a show of pomp, where wealth, beauty, and grandeur were concentrated, as it were, in one focus, must altogether have formed a wonderful spectacle, and made a strong impression on the mind, which was not a little heightened by the cries of the heralds, the clangour of the trumpets, the clashing of the arms, the rushing together of the combatants, and the shouts of the beholders."[1]

When the King himself took part in the tournament, a grand procession was formed, headed by the marshal of the jousts on horseback, dressed in cloth of gold, and surrounded by thirty footmen in liveries of yellow and blue. Then followed the drummers and trumpeters, all dressed in white damask; next forty knights and lords in pairs, all in superb attire, and many in cloth of gold; then "some twenty young knights on very fine horses, all dressed in white, with doublets of cloth of silver and white velvet, and chains of unusual size, and their horses barded with silver chainwork, and a number of pendent bells."[2] Next came their pages, on horseback, their trappings, half of gold embroidery, and half of purple velvet, embroidered with stars; and then the jousters, armed, with their squires and footmen. Last of all came his Majesty, "armed *cap-à-pie*, with a surcoat of silver bawdakin, surrounded by some thirty gentlemen on foot, dressed in velvet and white satin, and in this order they went twice round the lists."

The jousts usually lasted several hours; and Henry, being an admirable horseman and of great dexterity and quickness, often made his opponents measure their length on the sod, when from the galleries, stands, and towers, there went up a shout of applause from the assembled spectators that made the walls of the palace ring again.

During the courses the jousters performed feats of horse-

[1] Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, p. 111.
[2] Giustinian, vol. ii., p. 101.

manship, the King especially distinguishing himself "in supernatural feats, changing his horses, and making them fly rather than leap, to the delight and ecstasy of everybody."[1]

Another of Henry's pastimes was shooting at the butt, in which he also excelled, drawing, according to several authorities, the best bow in England. In this amusement he was engaged, as we have seen, when Cavendish came to announce Wolsey's death; and he was often joined in it by Anne Boleyn. Her brother, Lord Rochford, was his constant companion in these and similar pastimes, and frequently won large sums from him, as we learn from entries like the following:—

Item the same day (8th July, 1531) paied to my Lorde of Rocheford for shoting with the Kinges grace at Hampton Corte £58.[2]

And in the Hampton Court accounts for the year 1532 we find frequently recorded payments, relating to the same sport, such as:—

Paied to Henry Blakston for payntyng of a But in the great orchard for the Kyng to shote pellets at—19d.[3]

Besides these, Hampton Court was not wanting in indoor recreations, which might be pursued in wet and wintry weather. The tennis court, or "close tennys play," which is the oldest one in England, and has since been the model of all other courts in the kingdom,[4] had, as we have observed above, just been finished; and Henry was a frequent and skilful player in it.[5] Numerous entries relating to the games he played are to be found in his privy purse expenses; for instance, on the 16th of December, 1531, five shillings were paid "to one that served

[1] Giustinian, vol. ii., p. 102.

[2] Nicolas' *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.*, p. 145.

[3] *Chapter House Accounts*, $C\frac{6}{12}$, folio 481, &c.

[4] See Mr. Julian Marshall's delightful *Annals of Tennis*, p. 36.

[5] See Appendix F, No. 1, for the accounts for the building of the Tennis Court.

on the King's side at tennes at Hampton Court;" and at other times payments of money are noted for bets which he lost to the other players and the spectators—for on all occasions his passion for gambling asserted itself. When he played, the gallery underneath the pent-house was usually crowded, and Giustinian, who had watched him, says:—"He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture."[1] He had tennis slippers or shoes and drawers made especially for wearing when he played, and "tenys cotes" of blue velvet and black velvet, for putting on when he rested.[2]

Although it is usually supposed by writers on the game of tennis that the courts in England were not glazed till the beginning of this century, we find from the old bills that in the tennis court at Hampton Court, the windows, which were twelve in number—six on each side—were "sett with new glass" in the year 1530, and over each of them was stretched a wire netting to prevent the glass being broken by the balls.[3] Each window was divided into three lights, and contained altogether 112 square feet of glass, so that no inconsiderable amount of light was afforded within. At each end of the tennis court still remain the "new lodgynges by the tennis play," which were built by Henry VIII., and which were, doubtless, occupied by the master of the court, the markers, servers, and others. In these "lodgings" there are, in addition, rooms on the ground floor adapted for dressing-rooms; and others on the first floor, with small windows into the court, used by distinguished lookers-on. These, and the court itself, were connected with the main building of the palace by two passages or galleries, the

[1] *Despatches*, vol. i., p. 27.
[2] Strutt's *Manners and Customs*, &c., vol. iii., p. 87.
[3] See Appendix F, No. 1.

upper one communicating directly with the old "Queen's Gallery."

The accompanying print, after Hollar's view of the palace, drawn about the year 1650,[1] gives a tolerable idea of its general appearance; but it is certainly incorrect in some particulars; for, whereas it is clear that there must originally have been six bays between the buttresses,[2] Hollar only shows five, nor does the number or shape of the windows tally with those put up by Henry VIII., though they may well have been altered between that time and the reign of Charles II.

Among other diversions of the same sort afforded in this palace were: an "open tennis play"—evidently a sort of lawn tennis—and an open and two close bowling alleys. One of these alleys, which existed till about a hundred years ago, is shown in the old print, of which we inserted a facsimile on page 124. It was about 270 feet long, and lit by numerous windows on both sides. There was another similar one near the river.

The long winter evenings, when not enlivened with the masquerades and revels, in which Henry took particular delight, were usually passed in playing games of chance, such as backgammon, dice, and shovel-board, at which he betted deeply, so that his losses in the course of one year amounted to as much as £3,500.[3]

Wherever the Court moved, it was attended by a large number of minstrels of all kinds,[4] for Henry was exceedingly

[1] From the engraving in the *Vetusta Monumenta.*

[2] The buttresses on the back or west side still remain, and the brickwork of the wall is here of the time of Henry VIII.; on the front or east side the buttresses are gone, and the upper part of the wall dates, it would seem, from the time of Charles II., when the court and the gallery, &c., were renewed both inside and out, as we shall show in our second volume.

[3] Nicolas, *ubi supra.*

[4] In vol. v. of *Letters and Papers* (*Henry VIII.*), p. 307, is a charge of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* paid to the "King's players for playing before the King" at Hampton Court.

fond of music, and was a very fair musician himself. He played with taste and execution on the organ, harpsichord, and lute;[1] and several songs of his own composition, which are extant, give us a high idea of his attainments in that sphere.[2] Of his skill in singing all witnesses speak in high praise, and many a time, of an evening, Henry's powerful voice was heard re-echoing in the courts and cloisters of Hampton Court.

The words of his songs, some of which are in French, were of his own composition, and mostly very effective; and several of them became extremely popular, especially that called "Pastime with Good Company." In this, his favourite one, Henry declares that his heart is set on hunting and singing, and dancing and love, and warmly pleads for youth that it "must have some dalliance." In others of his love songs he justifies his amours, on various pretexts, characteristically resolving to give up pleasure at last, when he is too old to enjoy it. At the same time, however, he lays claim to the virtue of constancy in love, declaring:—

> As the holly groweth green, and never changeth hue,
> So I am—ever have been—unto my lady true.

and,

> For whoso loveth, should love but one—
> Change whoso will, I will be none.

His taste for literature is well known; he spoke French, Spanish, Italian, and Latin thoroughly; and he furnished a large library in the palace with books from York Place, and had a catalogue made of them.[3] Besides his

[1] There is an entry in his *Privy Purse Expenses*, Feb. 19th, 1530:—"Item to Phillip for lewte stringes." See also the print of him playing, Chapter XVII., *post*.

[2] See a most interesting article in *Archæologia*, vol. xli., p. 371.

[3] Nicolas, p. 89. "Item paied to Joly Jak for bringing the King's books from York Place to Hampton Courte—5*s*." Nov. 26th, 1530.

book which earned him the title of Defender of the Faith, he at one time intended to publish a work in which he had long been engaged, on his divorce, a subject he had so deeply studied that Campeggio declared that he knew more about the canon law bearing on the point than any man living.

But while Henry never stinted himself in his pleasures and the lighter studies, he did not suffer them to interfere with the more serious duties of his position. After Wolsey's death every despatch was submitted to him, and carefully read and docketed, and the whole business of the State was carried on with the greatest regularity and without delay.

Varied and attractive, however, as were the pleasures of his country seat, still the pressure of urgent State affairs often obliged him to forego them, and compelled his presence in London. Consequently, we find repeated references to his going from Hampton Court to Westminster, Whitehall, St. James's, and the Tower,[1] his journeys to and from these places being usually made by the way of the Thames, in the state barges. But besides his London palaces, he was frequently visiting those of Greenwich, Richmond, Windsor, Nonsuch, Hatfield, Beaulieu, Hunsdon, Grafton, the More, Hanworth, and Oatlands; and the migrations of the Court, backwards and forwards, between all these places, were incessant and perpetual. Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador, was quite perplexed by this insular restlessness:—"I sent one of my men to Hampton Court," he writes, in a despatch to Vienna,[2] "to ask for an audience from the King; but he was already gone to Windsor and other places to amuse himself, and pass away the time, accompanied only by the Lady (Anne Boleyn, who in these excursions rode behind him on his

[1] Nicolas' *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.*

[2] *Calendars of State Papers (Spanish)*, vol. iv., part ii., p. 198. June 24th, 1531.

pillion), the grand equerry, and two more." A little further on the ambassador adds:—"For the last fortnight he has done little else but go from place to place, except on two occasions, when John Joachim[1] went to visit him at Hampton Court."

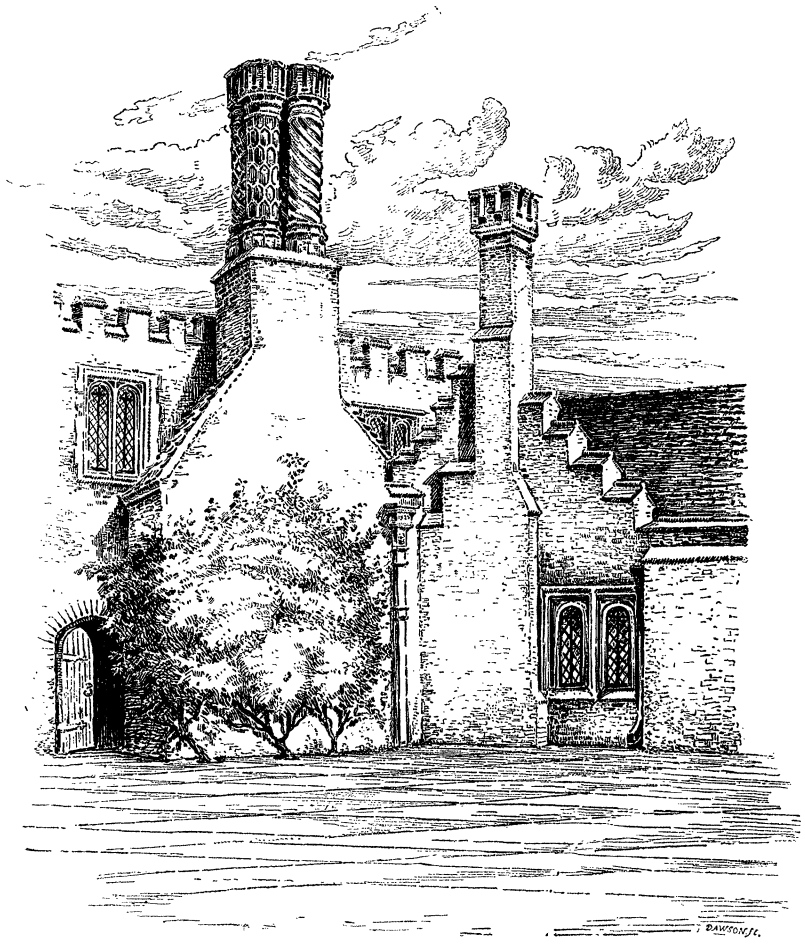
[1] *I.e.* Giovanni Gioacchino, called *John Jokin.* He was a secret emissary of the French King, and the *bête noir* of the Imperial ambassador.

CHAPTER XII.

HENRY VIII.'S HOUSEHOLD AND HIS NEW BUILDINGS.

The King's Household—Abuses and Disorders at Court—"Ordinances of Eltham"—Sanitary Rules—Dogs not allowed in the Court, except Ladies' Lap-dogs—Dining in Hall—The King's Privy Chamber—Gentlemen Ushers of the Privy Chamber—Their Menial Duties—Ceremonial in the daily making of King Henry VIII.'s Bed—Diet Allowances—The Domestic Offices in the Palace—The Great Kitchens—The Serving Place—The King's New Hall—Who was the King's Architect?—He acquires the Fee Simple of the Manor—The New Buildings pressed on—The Buttery—The Great Cellars—Chiefly English Workmen employed—Their Wages—Purchase of Material—Great Cost of the Works.

ONE of the principal points in which the Court and household of Henry VIII. differed from those of a modern English Sovereign was in the vast number of persons who habitually resided, and were provided for, at the King's expense, within the walls of the royal manor. This was the case not only with the gentlemen ushers, grooms-in-waiting, and daily waiters (who, be it remembered, in those days actually rendered the services their names imply), and the numerous cupbearers, yeomen, sewers, and other servants attached to the various offices, but also with the great officers of state,



Back Court, by the Great Kitchen.

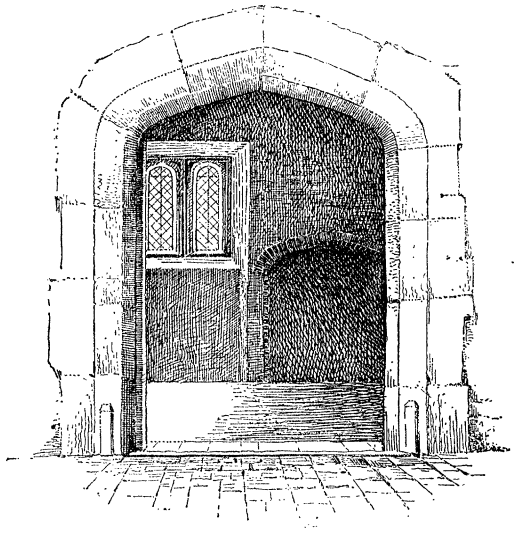
ministers, and privy councillors; so that when the Court was in residence the palace was thronged by at least a thousand persons. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that so motley an assemblage gave rise to many abuses and disorders at Court, and was by no means easy to keep in control. Accordingly, in 1526, Wolsey found it necessary to draw up the "Ordinances of Eltham" for the regulation of the royal household, and "the establishment of good order and the reformation of sundry errors and misuses" that had crept in.[1] The ordinances were to apply while the Court was residing at the King's manors, at Hampton Court, and elsewhere.

Stringent rules had to be enacted against such practices as purloining of locks off doors, stealing of tables, cupboards, and various household implements, and the keeping by officials and visitors of large numbers of servants within the Court at the King's charge, that they might thus relieve themselves from the burden of maintaining them, or employ them to do their duties for them. Another abuse to be corrected was "the great confusion, annoyance, infection, trouble, and dishonour, that ensueth by the numbers as well of sickly, impotent, inable and unmeet persons, as of rascals, and vagabonds, now spread, remaining and being in all the Court." Ordinances, also, with a sanitary purpose were laid down, "for the better avoiding of corruption and all uncleanness out of the King's house, which doth engender danger of infection, and is very noisome and displeasant unto all the noblemen and others repairing to the same," directing a certain number of scullions to sweep and clean twice a day all the courts, galleries, and places within the Court, and forbidding under pain of imprisonment "the

[1] See *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household*, published by the Society of Antiquaries, A.D. 1790, p. 137 *et seq.*

leaving of dishes, saucers or vessels about the house, or the throwing away of any reliques of meat, &c."

Another regulation was as follows :—"The King's Highness also straightly forbiddeth and inhibiteth, that no person whatsoever he be presume to keep any grey hounds, mastives, hounds, or other dogges, in the Court, other than some



View of one of the Old Offices in Henry VIII.'s Palace.

few small spaniels for ladyes or others, nor bring or leade any into the same except it be by the King's or Queen's commandment; but the said grey hounds and doggs to be kept in kennels, and other meete places, out of the Court, as is convenient, soe as the premises dewly observed, the house may be sweete, wholesome, cleane and well furnished, as to a prince's honour and estate doth appertain."

It was about the time of which we are writing that the

ancient mediæval custom of the whole household dining together in hall was beginning to decline. This was an innovation on the habits of the good old times that Henry regarded with great disfavour. Accordingly one of the ordinances, after reciting that "sundry noblemen, gentlemen and others, do much delight and use to dyne in corners and secret places . . . not repaireing to the King's chamber nor hall, nor to the head officers of the household . . . by reason whereof the good order of the said household and chamber is greatly impaired and the said officers oftentimes destitute of company at their boards," proceeds to enact that there shall always be a public table, to which those at Court shall be obliged to repair.

The regulations for the ordering of the King's Privy Chamber are very minute and curious. The first declares that "Inasmuch as in the pure and cleane keeping of the King's Privy Chamber, with the good order thereof, consisteth a greate part of the King's quiet, rest, comfort and preservation of his health, the same above all things before mentioned is principally and most highly to be regarded; and considering that right meane persons, as well for their more commoditie do retire and withdraw themselves sometymes aparte, as for the wholesomnesse, sweatnesse of their chambers doe forbeare to have any great or frequent resort in the same; much more is it convenient that the King's Highnesse have his privy chamber and inward lodgings reserved secret, at the pleasure of his grace, without repaire of any great multitude."

Then follow detailed directions as to the duties of the gentlemen and grooms of the privy chamber, which consisted of getting up at six o'clock, lighting the fire, cleaning and sweeping the room, fetching and warming the King's doublet, hose, and shoes, and afterwards dressing him in "reverent, discreet and sober manner." By other regu-

lations they are enjoined "not to hearken and enquire where the King is, or goeth, be it early or late, without grudgeing, mumbling or talking of the King's pastime; late or early going to bed;" nor to repeat any Court gossip,—regulations which, we suppose—such is the discreetness of modern courtiers—would now be entirely superfluous.

The elaborate ceremonial observed in the daily making of the King's bed, the directions for which occupy several pages of print, is a curious instance of Tudor etiquette.[1] First, a groom of the bed-chamber or a page went and sum-



Cast-iron Fireback of Henry VIII.

moned four yeomen of the wardrobe, who brought the bed-clothes, and four yeomen of the bed-chamber and a gentleman usher. When they entered the bed-chamber, four of the yeomen placed themselves on one side of the royal bed and four on the other, while the groom with his torch stood at the foot, and "the gentleman usher apart, commanding them what they should do." Then "a yeoman with a dagger searched the straw of the bed, that there be no untruth therein." Next, the feather-bed was placed on the bed, "one of the yeomen tumbling over it for the search thereof," after which the blankets and sheets, at the word of

[1] *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. ii., p. 184.

command from the gentleman usher, were solemnly laid one by one upon the bed by the eight yeomen, who were strictly commanded to lower them in such a way that they should all touch the bed at all points at the same moment. Then follow several paragraphs concerning the tucking up of the bed-clothes, and the smoothing of the pillows; which done, the yeomen made a cross upon, and kissed, the place where their hands had touched. When the ceremony was completed, a page or groom was left in charge "unto the time the King be disposed to go to it."

We find in the Chapter House manuscripts[1] some particulars for "the garnishing and painting" and enlarging of one of the bedsteads which Henry used at Hampton Court about the time Anne Boleyn became his queen:—

Also paid to John Hethe and Harry Blankstoon, of London, paynters, for gyldyng and burnesshyng with ffyne gold and bysse, chassed, oon of the Kynges bed-stedes the wheche was inlarged wydder and leynggar, and for mendyng serten fawttes in the same, by convencyon —33*s.* 4*d.*

This was probably the same magnificent bedstead, which was at the palace, when the inventory of the King's effects was taken at his death.[2] Its description is interesting as affording an idea of Tudor furniture. The posts, which, as well as the head, were "curiously wrought," were painted and gilt, and surmounted by four "bullyeons of timber work gilt," with four vanes of iron painted with the King's arms. The ceiler and testor were of cloth of gold tissue and cloth of silver paned, that is, worked in alternate diamond-shaped pieces together, and embroidered at the seams with a work of purple velvet. Both in the ceiler and on the testor were embroidered the King's arms, crowned with the crown imperial, in a garland of roses and fleurs-de-lys.[3] The

[1] C. $\frac{6}{9}$, folio 601.
[2] Harl. MSS. 1419.
[3] In Queen Elizabeth's reign there was shown at Hampton Court a testor

fringes and valances were of Venice gold, and the curtains purple and white, paned together, and garnished on both sides with Venice gold.

By the same "Ordinances of Eltham," the diet allowances or "Bouche of Court," [1] as it was termed, to which any person resident in the palace was entitled, was accurately fixed according to his rank or position. Thus a duke or duchess was allowed in the morning one chett loaf, one manchet,[2] and one gallon of ale; in the afternoon, one manchet and one gallon of ale; and for after supper one chet loaf, one manchet, one gallon of ale, and a pitcher of wine, besides torches, faggots, and other necessaries. But a countess was allowed nothing at all after supper, and a gentleman usher had no allowance for the morning or afternoon. As, however, "Bouche of Court" was in addition to the excellent meals provided for everyone at the King's table, no one had cause to complain.

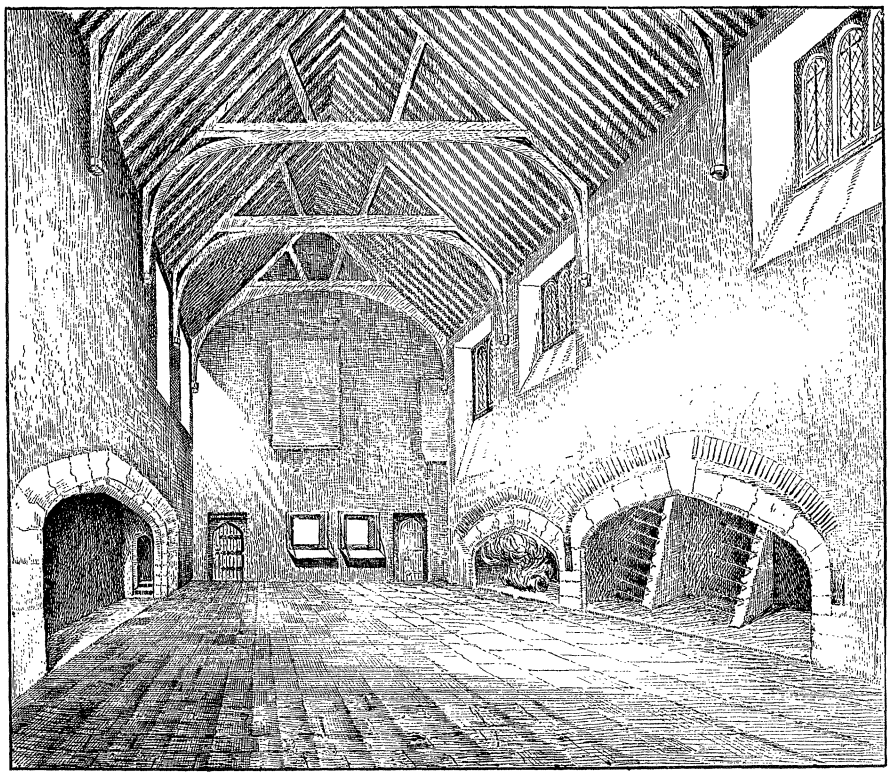
The miscellaneous offices in the palace, connected with the provisioning, housekeeping, furnishing and cleaning departments, with all their officers and attendants, were each similarly subject to a series of distinct regulations, and owned their separate local habitations. Various as these offices had been in Wolsey's time, they were still more numerous now that the whole royal establishment had to be accommodated within the building; so that, as we mentioned in a preceding chapter, they were enlarged and extended by Henry VIII. as soon as he came into possession of Hampton Court. Not only do we hear, therefore, of the great kitchens, privy kitchen, cellar,[3] larder, pantry, buttery, scullery, ewery, saucery, wafery, which had formed part of

of a bed worked by Anne Boleyn for Henry VIII.—perhaps this identical one.

[1] The word is sometimes spelt *bouge*, and is derived from the French *bouche*. Skelton wrote a kind of little drama called *Bouge of Courte*. See Dyce's *Skelton*, vol. ii., p. 105.

[2] See *ante*, p. 110.

[3] See illustration on page 156.



The Great Kitchen.

the Cardinal's establishment, but particulars occur, also, of the King's new kitchen, the fish kitchen, the chawndry, pastry, confectionery, squillery,[1] sellery, spicery, poultry, accatry, washing house, scalding house, boiling house, pitcher house, still house, coal house, fish house, feather house, hot house, jewel house, pay house, counting house, check house, victualling house, store house, almonry, &c.[2] Nearly all these, with their appurtenances, and with dwelling chambers annexed for the officers, clerks, and yeomen of the same, were situated behind the first three courts on the north side, and formed the long range of irregularly-gabled buildings, enclosing several small picturesque courtyards,[3] which extend nearly the whole length of the palace.

To attempt to identify the exact position of each of them now, after they have been so much transformed, would lead us into an almost hopeless archæological puzzle; but a careful survey of these purlieus would still afford considerable interest to the curious antiquary, and enable him to recall much of the domestic economy of the Tudor Court. The positions of the three great kitchens, at any rate, can be easily identified, and their forms and dimensions followed out and mentally discriminated from the many walls, partitions, and living rooms which have been built up into them. One of them, indeed, remains almost exactly in its pristine state. It is 40 feet long[4] by 28 feet wide, and, to the apex of the open-raftered roof,[5] 40 feet high; and looking on its lofty mullioned windows, its great arched fire-places, 7 feet high and 18 feet broad, where many an ox has been roasted

[1] From the old French *écuillerie*, the office for the platters.

[2] See also Appendix G.

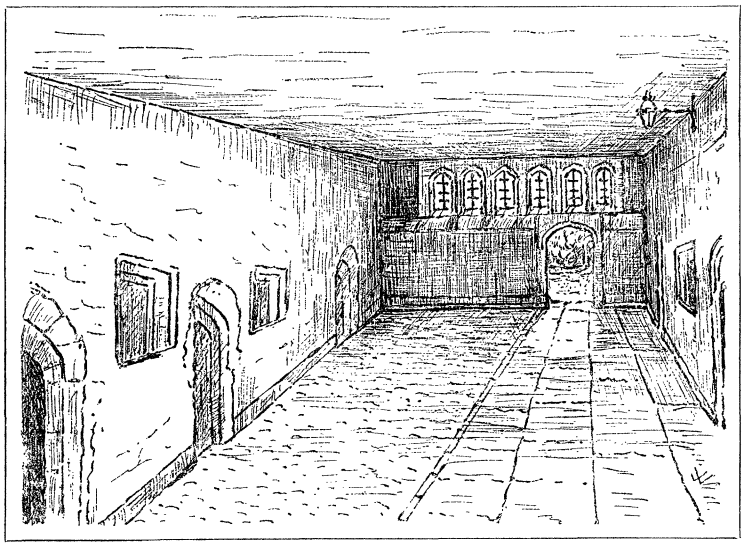
[3] See illustrations, *ante*, pages 32 and 145, and the Fish and Round Kitchen Courts, *post*.

[4] The largest, which adjoins it, is fifty feet long.

[5] The original oaken roofs were removed about forty years ago, and replaced by makeshift deal beams; but a few of the old rafters and the corbels still remain.

whole, and its hatches or dressers, on which the dishes were placed, abutting on the serving place, our minds are forcibly recalled to the grandeur and profusion of Tudor hospitality.

The serving place itself, also, is at once recognized by the external framework of the dressers, which communicate with the kitchens and other offices whence the dishes were



The Serving Place.

brought up the backstairs of the hall to the royal table. The three or four adjoining rooms (of one of which an illustration is given on page 146) may, perhaps, be the spicery, wafery, and confectionery, or similar offices. That they were, at any rate, places where the subsidiary processes of cooking were gone through, is evident both from their position, from their old arched grates, and their hatches. In another room of this sort, on the north side of a small

area that goes by the name of the "Fish Court,"[1] on account of the fish kitchen which is situated at the end of it, we find a large Tudor grate and chimney, with a curious old oven of oval form made of tiles concentrically arranged.[2]

The accommodating of so vast and varied an assemblage as the whole of the King's Court and household, necessitated at the same time the enlarging of several other parts of the palace. This was especially the case with Wolsey's hall, which, though doubtless a fine and spacious room enough, yet did not satisfy Henry's regal requirements and more gorgeous taste. Accordingly, two months before the Cardinal's death—namely, in October, 1530[3]—we find that the workmen were already employed in unroofing and pulling down the old hall, and laying the foundations of the "King's New Hall." The whole size and proportions of the new hall were to be on a scale of grandeur and magnificence suitable to a place which had now become one of the King's favourite residences.[4] The basement under the western portion of the hall was devoted to the purposes of the "King's New Buttery," while the basement of the eastern or upper end was apportioned to the great cellars.[5] At the west end, in the second storey, on a level with the floor of the hall itself, was the "King's New Pantry," already particularized,[6] with a door into the lower end of the hall, behind the screens, under the Minstrel Gallery.

And here again arises the question, which we have before discussed in connection with Wolsey's original foundation of Hampton Court, as to who was the architect employed by Henry VIII. in the erection of these additional buildings.

[1] See illustration, *post.*

[2] There are several other similar old ovens in the kitchens and other places.

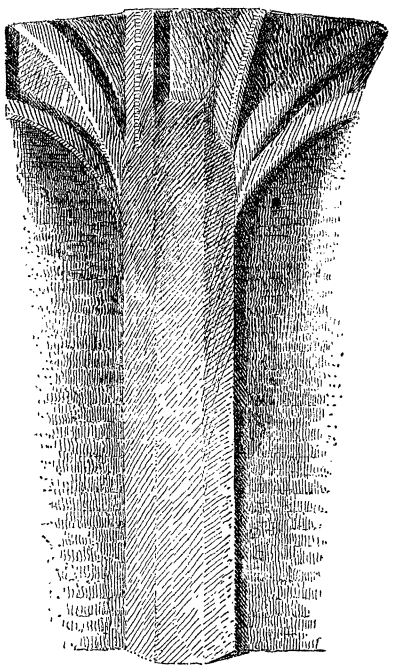
[3] *Chapter House Accounts.* See Appendix C.

[4] It is built on the site of the original hall, and forms the whole northern side of the middle or Clock Court, then the chief area of the palace.

[5] See illustration on page 156.

[6] See page 124.

Britton, in his work on "Architectural Antiquities," makes mention of one Eustace Mascall, who, he tells us, was for seventeen years chief clerk of accounts for all the buildings of Henry VIII. within twenty miles of London, and whose



Pillar in the Buttery, supporting the Floor of the Hall.

name he inserts, apparently on that ground alone, in his list of mediæval architects, though he cannot venture to specify any of his works.[1] Mascall certainly appears in nearly all

[1] Vol. v. His authority is a brass plate to Eustace Mascall's memory, dated 1567, in the church of Farnham Royal, Bucks. See Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, vol. i., p. 561.

the Hampton Court bills,[1] as acting in that capacity here for the King; and the inference that he probably prepared the designs for Henry VIII.'s works, if not also for Wolsey's, might seem to derive considerable colour from the fact that he was also employed as the Cardinal's clerk of the works[2] at his college at Oxford, to the style and details of which Hampton Court bears, in many particulars, a very close resemblance—the halls indeed being almost exact counterparts and palpably by the same architect.[3]

On investigation, however, it does not appear that we can allow much weight to this surmise. In the first place, there is nothing to show that, at any time, the duties of a clerk of the works included the drafting of designs or the getting out of plans.[4] And in the second place, that Mascall, at any rate, merely discharged ordinary clerical functions would seem clear from his duty being the "makyng and engrossing as well the By-Boks as the Jornall Boks of all the works."[5] Nor does the smallness of his salary, which was only at the rate of a shilling a day,—the wages, in fact, of the master carpenters, carvers, and painters,—admit of our supposing him (or his assistant or writing clerks, Henry Barton and Thomas Kelway, who received but 8*d.* a day), to have been responsible for any artistic work.

[1] *Chapter House Accounts*, *passim.* Mention is made, however, of Nicolas Towneley, who had been Wolsey's clerk-comptroller, for two or three years after Henry's acquisition of the palace. See *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v., p. 303, and vol. vi., No. 1370. (Anno 1533.)

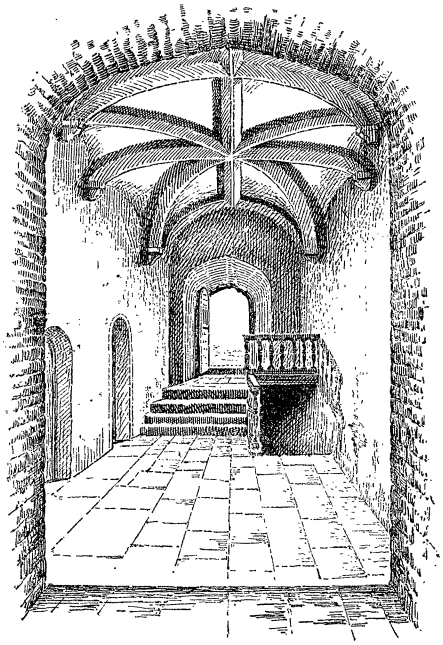
[2] There is also a letter extant from Evan Mascall to his brother "Eustace, clerk of the check, in the King's works at Hampton Court," dated May 31st, 1534.—*Letters and Papers* (*Henry VIII.*), vol. v., No. 272.

[3] The hall of Christ Church is 115 feet by 40, and 50 high in the wall; that of Hampton Court 106 feet by 40, and 45 high. Their roofs and windows are almost exactly alike.

[4] Chaucer, for instance, who was appointed clerk of the works of all the royal palaces in the reign of Richard II., with the salary of two shillings a day, was only paymaster and director of the workmen, and did not furnish designs.—Dallaway's notes to Walpole's *Anecdotes*, vol. i., chap. v.

[5] *Chapter House Accounts*, C. $\frac{6}{13}$, folio 50.

With more warrant, perhaps, though by no means with any certainty, we may give the credit of the architectural excellencies of the old Tudor palace to "Mr. Henry Williams, priest, surveyor of the works at Hampton Court," in whose presence the payments were made every month, "by the



Entrance to Henry VIII.'s Cellars under the Hall and Great Watching Chamber.

hands of the Right Reverend Father in God, Prior of Newark, Paymaster of the same."[1] Williams' duties, at any rate, must have involved a considerable supervision of details, at a time when every workman was an artist, and the functions of architect, builder, and artisan were not so

[1] *Chapter House Accounts*, C. $\frac{6}{11}$, folio 555.

distinct as they are at the present day. And if it could be shown that he was also surveyor for the erection of the hall at Christ Church, the inference that his office was tantamount to that of architect would be pretty strong.

We ought not, perhaps, to omit to mention here, that in 1534 someone, whose name does not appear, but who was probably one Thomas Stydolph,[1] was appointed by Henry VIII. comptroller of his Majesty's works, an office which had not been exercised for some time. His duties, however, involved nothing but a financial control, such as seeing how much was spent monthly, looking after "the receipt of brick, lime, timber," &c., and seeing "the men who had wages by patent or otherwise did not take double wages," an interference much resented by Williams, who declared that he was his own comptroller, and needed no comptrollment, and that he refused to be meddled with.[2]

The resolve of Henry VIII. to make Hampton Court one of the most superb of the palaces belonging to the crown, led him to secure the fee simple of the manor, which, it will be remembered, had been leased by the Knights Hospitallers to Wolsey for a term of 99 years. An agreement, therefore, was concluded on the 30th of May, 1531, between the King and Sir William Weston, prior of the order, for the granting to his Majesty of the manor of Hampton Court, in exchange for other messuages; and on the 5th of June following, the grant was formally executed.[3] This fact is to be noted, as it has hitherto been stated that the reversion

[1] Compare No. 1012 of *Letters and Papers, &c., Henry VIII.*, vol. vii., with No. 1247 of the same.

[2] *Letters and Papers, ubi supra.* The mysterious "John of Padua," whose name might suggest itself to some as the architect of Hampton Court, could have had nothing to do with it, as he was not appointed "devisor" of Henry VIII.'s buildings till 1544, some years after the palace was finished. Besides, he seems to have designed only in the Italian style, an objection which would apply equally to his predecessor Girolamo da Trevigi.

[3] *Letters and Papers* (*Henry VIII.*), vol. v., Nos. 264 and 285.

came into the King's hands by arbitrary seizure on the suppression of the monastic orders, when their property was confiscated to the crown.

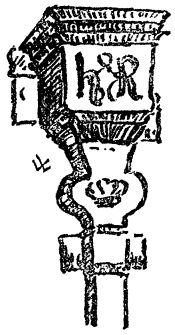
Throughout the years 1531, 1532, and 1533, scores of workmen and artificers of all sorts were engaged on the building of the Hall, as Henry was anxious for its immediate completion; and the works were pressed on with the greatest activity. Curious evidence of this is afforded by entries in the old bills of "Emptions of tallow candles spent by the workmen in the night times upon the paving of the Hall, for the hasty expedition of the same," and of extra payments to bricklayers, masons, carpenters, carvers, painters, and gilders for "working in their owre tymys (hour or over times) and drinking times for the hasty expedition of the same."[1] The King besides gave orders for pressing workmen to be employed on the royal works, and Edward Arnold, mason, received a special commission "to rest (*i.e.* arrest) and take up freemasons," and Edmund More "to rest and take up carvers," with the same object.

Of the workmen employed on the royal works, it is worthy of remark that they were Englishmen, nearly without exception, and almost invariably the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages—such as Kingston, Moulsey, Hampton, Epsom, Teddington, and Chertsey. Even the most delicate carvings and paintings of the roof, which are sometimes stated to have been the work of Italians and other foreigners, are proved to have been entirely executed by men so palpably Anglo-Saxon as Michael Joiner, Richard Ridge of London, John Wright of South Mimms, John White of Winchester, John Hobbs, Henry Blankston, John Hethe, Reginald Ward of Dudley, John Spencer of Hampton, John Reynolds of East Moulsey, &c.[2] A remarkable fact, also, is that, in spite of the statute of Henry VI. against the Freemasons,

[1] Appendix C, Nos. iii. 5; iv. 8.

[2] *Chapter House Papers, passim.*

the King openly retained the craft for the erection of his buildings at Hampton Court. Thus we find, in the old bills, that the master freemason, John Molton, received 12*d.* a day, the warden, William Reynold, 5*s.* the week, and setters and lodgemen, to the number of some ninety or a hundred altogether, 3*s.* 8*d.* and 3*s.* 4*d.* the week respectively.[1] The wages of the carpenters, bricklayers, joiners, painters, plasterers, plummers, sawyers, sarveters, scaffolders, paviors,



Leaden Water Pipe with Henry VIII.'s Initials.

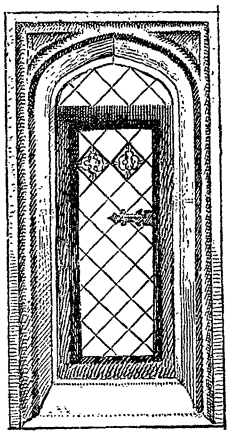
gardeners, carters, and labourers, were of analogous amount, and varied from 12*d.* a day, in the case of the master workmen, to 4*d.* a day in that of the common labourers, of whom about two hundred were always employed on the works.

The materials used in the construction of the hall, and in the works and decorations of other portions of the fabric, were nearly all supplied from the environs of London. Thus the bricks, of which thousands upon thousands were brought into the palace every month, came from Bronxham, Taplow, and other neighbouring places,[2] and there was also a

[1] *Chapter House Accounts*, C. $\frac{6}{13}$, folios 161, 436, &c.

[2] Appendix E, No. 1, &c. Bronxham is a small village in Hertfordshire near Broxbourne or Bronxbourne.

brick-kiln in the park; while the stone, whether ready cut and carved or in the rough state, was chiefly hewn in the quarries of Reigate, Barrington, and similar places, though there are occasional entries of the purchase of Caen stone, with the cost of the freight from France to St. Katharine's wharf, and up the Thames in barges to the palace. The timber, which was chiefly oak, was brought in enormous quantities from Dorking, Holmwood, Leatherhead, Banstead, Berewood, and St. John's Wood; and of lead many hundred tons had to be



Old Lattice Window, with Ventilators of perforated Lead.

provided for the roofs, water-tables, and pipes. Relating to the carriage of chalk, lime, and plaster, there are interminable entries; and we find, among others, an item of £5 5*s.* paid to "Richard Dyreck of Paris" for the delivery of plaster of Paris at the Tower Wharf. The ironwork—especially that for the standards, staybars, frames, and "lockats" of the windows—was supplied almost exclusively by John à Guylders, smith, and the glass by Galyon Hone,

the King's glazier. As a specimen of the framing and glazing of the old windows, a sketch is given opposite of a small one, in which the old latch is very artistic, and where the substitution, in two of the diamond lattices, of perforated lead instead of glass, affords example of an effective, if primitive, mode of ventilation.

It is not surprising, considering the vast stores of material that were being bought, and the large number of men, amounting to several hundreds, of all trades, who were being employed, that the bills about this time were exceptionally heavy, amounting to as much as £400 a month,[1] or about £50,000 a year in modern currency. Indeed, the expenses the King was incurring at Hampton Court and elsewhere were so excessive, that Cromwell strongly urged him to suspend them awhile, and notes among his "Remembrances:"—"What a great charge it is to the King to continue his buildings in so many places at once. How proud and false the workmen be; and if the King would spare for one year how profitable it would be to him."[2]

[1] *Chapter House Accounts*, C. $\frac{6}{13}$, folio 365.
[2] *Calendars of State Papers*, vol. vii., No. 143.

CHAPTER XIII.

ANNE BOLEYN'S THREE YEARS' REIGN.

Anne Boleyn becomes Queen—She comes to Hampton Court after her Marriage—"Dancing and Sporting"—Hunting and Gambling—Needlework and Music—Anne Boleyn's Gateway—The King receives an Embassy from Lubeck—Progress of the Building of the Great Hall—Description of the Exterior—The Femerell or Louvre—The Interior—The Great Bay Window—The Minstrel Gallery—The beautiful decorated Roof—Portrait of Henry VIII.—The King's Great Watching Chamber—Superb New "Lodgings" for the Queen—Henry's love for Anne begins to cool—She discovers him with Jane Seymour sitting on his knee—Her Fall and Execution—Henry marries Jane.

WHILE the King's new Hall was building, Anne Boleyn, though as yet unmarried to Henry VIII., was ever advancing in greater favour with him, and frequently came with him to reside at Hampton Court. And here, in 1533, after attaining the summit of her ambition by being crowned in Westminster Abbey on June 1st, she came in July to spend her honeymoon, and presided as Queen at superb banquetings, masques, interludes, and sports. Sir Thomas More, who soon after heard, when a prisoner in the Tower, of her "dancing and sporting," prophetically exclaimed, "Alas! it pitieth me to think into what misery, poor soul! she will shortly come. These dances of hers will prove such dances, that she will



Anne Boleyn. From the picture attributed to Holbein at Warwick Castle.

spurn our heads off like footballs, but it will not be long ere her head will dance the like dance." [1]

For the present, however, Anne felt secure and happy enough, and had little to cause her any forebodings, except the awkward habit Henry was acquiring, of flirting with the ladies of her court.[2] While here, she divided her time between hunting, playing bowls with Henry, gambling at cards, shovel-board and other games, and her needlework and music. Of her needlework there were specimens to be seen at Hampton Court for many years after her death. For instance, during the last years of the reign of her daughter Elizabeth, visitors were shown a tester of a bed worked by her for Henry VIII.;[3] and Sir Thomas Wyatt assures us that "those who have seen at Hampton Court the rich and exquisite works by herself, for the greater part wrought by her own hand and needle, and also of her ladies, esteem them the most precious furniture that are to be accounted amongst the most sumptuous that any prince may be possessed of. And yet far more rich and precious were those works, in the sight of God, which she caused her maids and those about her daily to work in shirts and smocks for the poor." [4]

In music she shared the taste of Henry, and we may suppose that she often accompanied his songs on the virginals, as among the Hampton Court accounts there is reference to this instrument, the prototype of the piano :—

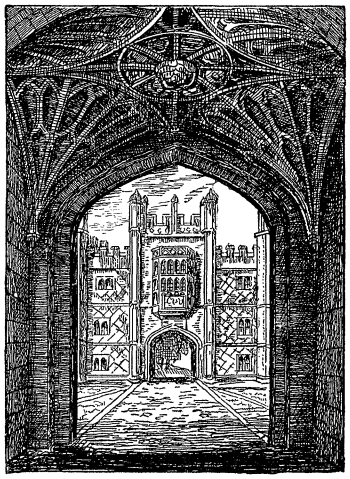
Item to John Van, of the Weke, for makyng of 3 *new kayes for a lock servyng the Quenys Vyrgenalles, pryce the pece,* 4*d.*[5]

It must have been about the period of this visit of Anne

[1] More's *Life of Sir T. More*, p. 232.
[2] Friedmann's *Anne Boleyn*, vol. i., p. 213.
[3] Hentzner's *Travels in England.*
[4] Wyatt's *Memoir of Anne Boleyn*, in vol. ii. of Cavendish's *Wolsey*, p. 442.
[5] *Chapter House*, $C\frac{6}{13}$, p. 61 (1535).

Boleyn to the palace, that the beautiful groined ceiling of the gateway between the Base and the Clock Courts was erected.[1] It is of the graceful fan-groin design ; and in the quatrefoils of the central circular panel are found, besides the badges of Henry VIII., Anne Boleyn's own badge—the falcon[2]—and her initial, A, entwined with an H in a true-lover's knot.

The King and Queen were again at Hampton Court in

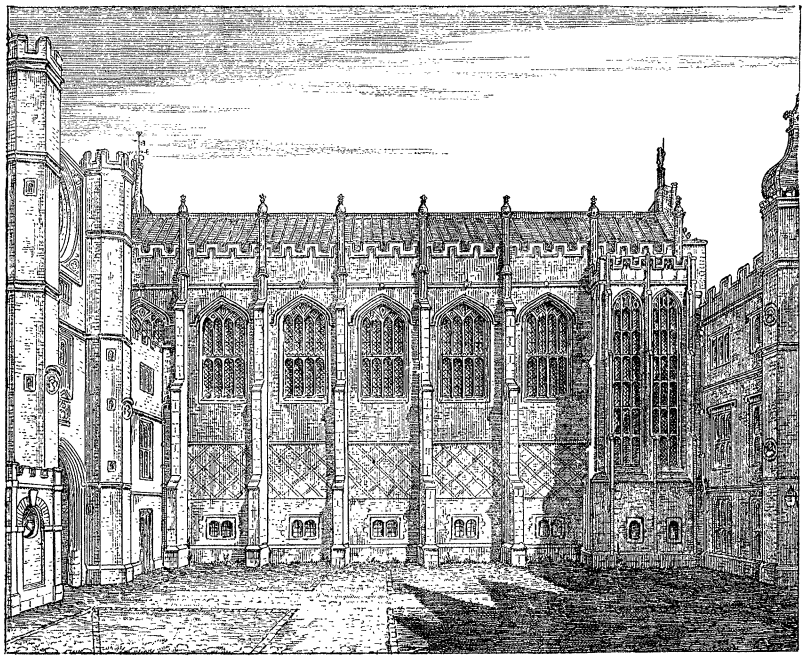


Anne Boleyn's Gateway.

the summer of 1534, when ambassadors from the free city of Lubeck, one of the Hanseatic towns, came over to England to court the alliance of Henry VIII. in a grand northern Protestant confederacy. They came up the river in rich barges, accompanied by their attendants gorgeously clad in

[1] The present ceiling is a restoration, but an exact reproduction of the original, some portion of which was so far decayed as to be in danger of falling.

[2] A white falcon, rising from a plume of feathers, was the crest of Ormond, and is placed under the head of the Earl of Wiltshire, Queen Anne Boleyn's father, on his tomb. — Willement's *Regal Heraldry*, p. 69.



Exterior of the Great Hall. From the Clock Court.

scarlet, embroidered with the motto, "Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?"[1] and were received in great state by Henry. A few days after, they came back on a second visit, when Dr. Otto Adam von Pack, the chief of the embassy, a man famous for his intrigues in central Germany, made the King a long laudatory Latin oration, which lasted two hours. "Among other things, he reviled horribly the authority of the Pope, and praised inestimably the King for many things, especially for his great learning and enlightenment from God, by which he had come to a knowledge of the truth, both as to the authority of the Pope and about his marriage."

The King was so pleased with this judicious flattery, that he gave the doctor a handsome present.[2]

The reception of these ambassadors must have taken place in one of the King's state rooms on the east side of the Clock Court; for the Great Hall, though by this time nearly completed, was as yet not quite ready for use. Its external appearance, of which a good idea can be formed from the annexed plate, was very little different then from what it is now. Its length, which is 118 feet or so on the outside, occupies the whole breadth, and more, of the Clock Court, otherwise called, in the time of Henry VIII., "The Inner Court where the fountaine standeth;" and in height from the ground to the topmost part of the gable-end it stands 92 feet. The range of small windows in the low storey over which it is raised, appertain to the old buttery and cellars, now subdivided into some thirty wine and coal cellars, store-rooms, and other offices. In the corner, on the right hand, is a beautiful bay window, reaching nearly the whole height of the hall, and abutting in the inside on the daïs.[3] In the

[1] Friedmann's *Anne Boleyn*, vol. ii., p. 24.
[2] *Calendars of State Papers*, Henry VIII., vol. vi., No. 957, July 1st.
[3] See Appendix C, No. X.

other angles of the hall are octagonal turrets, which rise about as high as the top of the roof, and each of which was formerly surmounted by a leaden "type," at the apex of which was a lion, leopard, or dragon, holding a vane gilded and painted with the King's arms, and on the top of the eight crocketted pinnacles, at the angles of the octagon, smaller vanes of a like sort. Similar vanes decorated the pinnacles on the tops of the buttresses.

Particulars are copiously given in the appendix [1] with regard to the working, painting, and setting up of all these decorations, as also of the heraldic beasts at the gable-ends holding vanes, and of the sixteen beasts or gargoyles on the slanting coping stones or "crests" of the gable-ends. The outline of the gable is peculiar, the pitch of the roof being cut off obtusely and flattened at the apex in a way which is very uncommon, and which is done so as to conform with the interior.[2] Along the top of the roof there appears to have been a sort of decorated parapet or fret-work; and in the middle rose the "femerell," or louvre, unfortunately destroyed about a century and a half ago—a mass of pierced and fretted tracery, ablaze with gilding and colour, and numerous vanes fluttering and glittering in every breeze.

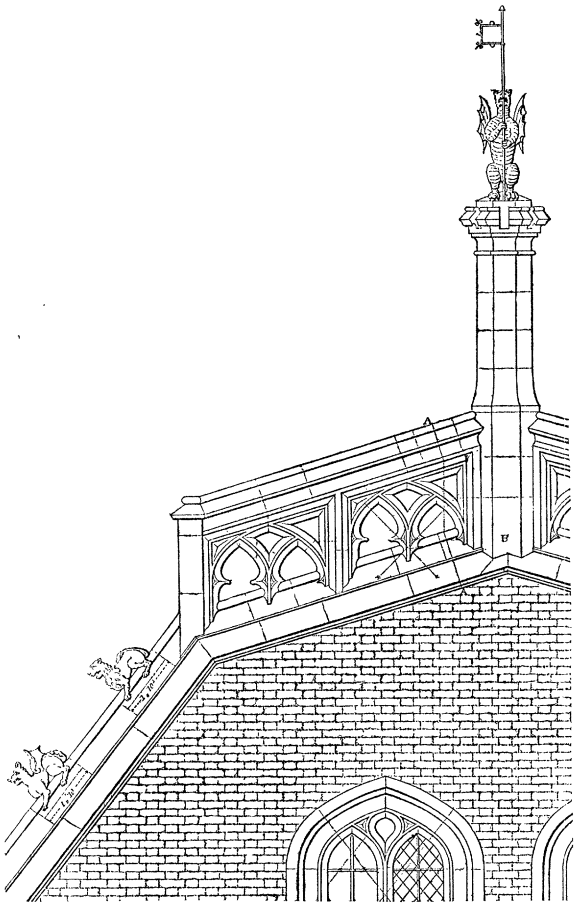
As, on the eighty or more old Gothic halls in England, there scarcely survives a single good and genuine example of the mediæval louvre—the best known, that on Westminster Hall, being far from a satisfactory imitation of the original [3]—the records on this point are of peculiar value. The louvre was made of wood, and consisted of three storeys or tiers, diminishing in size, the sides made of open work, glazed, and the tops or roofs cased with lead. From the upper

[1] Appendix C, Nos. V., VI.

[2] Pugin suggests that the Chapter-House of Canterbury Cathedral was taken as a model.—*Specimens of Gothic Architecture.*

[3] The louvre on Westminster Hall was restored by Smirke. That on Trinity College, Cambridge, is the best example that remains (Turner's *Domestic Architecture*, vol. iii., p. 59).

edge of each storey rose a set of carved pinnacles, sur-



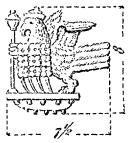
Gable-end of the Great Hall.

mounted with beasts carrying vanes, while at the centre and summit of the whole was "a great lion bearing a great vane

gilded," emblazoned with Henry VIII.'s arms, and covered with a large close crown.

It is worth noticing here, perhaps, that the brickwork of the hall, as well as that in other parts of the building, was artificially coloured and painted—charges for the "empcion of hay" and of "red oker," and for "pencilling about the hall," being frequently met with.

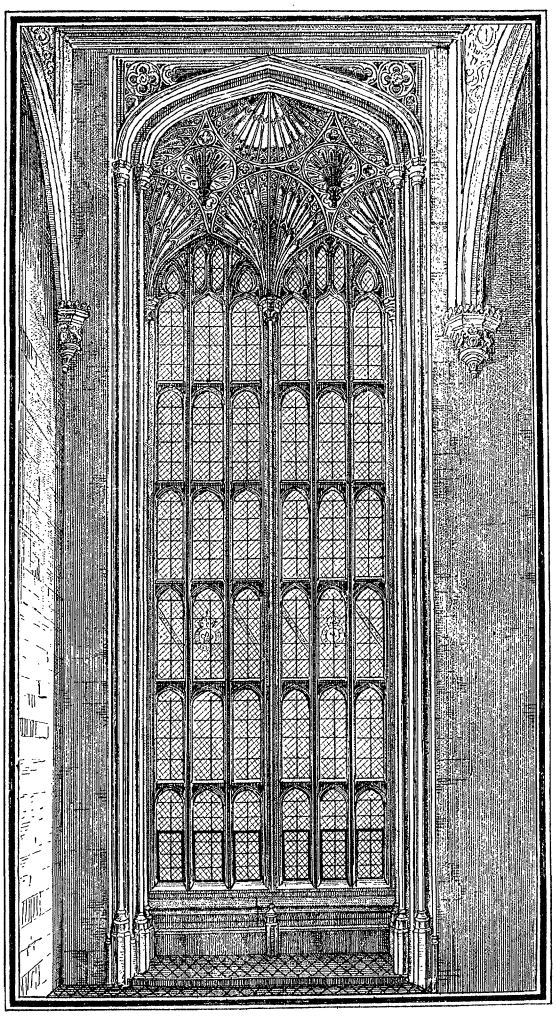
But imposing as the Great Hall looks on the exterior, rising high above the surrounding buildings, it is its interior which is the most magnificent, and on which King Henry lavished the greatest labour and expense. The first impression it gives on entering is one of an excessive richness



Anne Boleyn's Badge, a Falcon, carved in the Roof of the Hall.

bordering on the florid; and this has been laid to the account of the restorations that were carried out about forty years ago.[1] But though the effect is certainly rather too fresh and raw for an old building, the restorer seems to have done little more than follow the indications of the original colouring, which, as the records prove, was of a very gorgeous nature. Most of the panels of the roof were painted blue, while the projecting parts showed the colour of the oak, and were here and there relieved with gilding. The painting of the carved pendants, corbels, and spandrils was of course more elaborate.

[1] Some attempt at redecorating the roof seems to have been made by Wyatt quite at the beginning of this century. He appears to have painted the oak with a tint to represent that wood in its fresh state, and some traces of this outrage on good taste still remain.



Great Bay Window on the Daïs in the Great Hall.

About the time at which the roof was repainted, that is to say, between the years 1840 and 1846, all the windows of the hall were reglazed with painted glass, designed and executed by Willement, who, considering the then state of that art, deserved much credit for the taste and accuracy of the restoration. Unfortunately, not a trace of the old glass now remains, most of it having perished in the course of years, and the remnant, we may presume, being removed when the reglazing was carried out.[1]

The dazzling effect of the hall in its present state is enhanced by the brilliancy of the eight pieces of tapestry, wrought with silk, and silver and gold thread, which portray "The History of Abraham."[2]

When we come to inspect the hall in detail, one of the most prominent features that strike us is the great bay window, at the upper end on the right-hand side, extending from the floor to the roof, and lighting the daïs or *haut-pas*, where stood the King's table. This window contains as many as forty-eight lights, of which the thirty-six to the front are shown in the annexed print. In the ceiling or vault of the bay is a miniature fan-groin, with pendants, of extreme beauty and delicacy.[3] The raised step, or *hal-pace*, at this window was formerly paved with green and white tiles, and the rest of the hall with plain tiles. All these, we regret to note, have been "restored" away, and their places supplied by large flag-stones.

At the lower end of the hall, placed across its breadth, is a screen of fine deep-toned oak, behind which are the main entrances into the hall—one, on the south side, leading

[1] It is to be observed that even the iron "staybars," "standards," and "lockets," that composed the stout framework of the windows, were originally coloured red—an instance of the free use of the paint-brush in Tudor times.

[2] See *post*, Chapter XVII.

[3] The charges for the carving of this vault, &c., are collected in Appendix C, No. X.

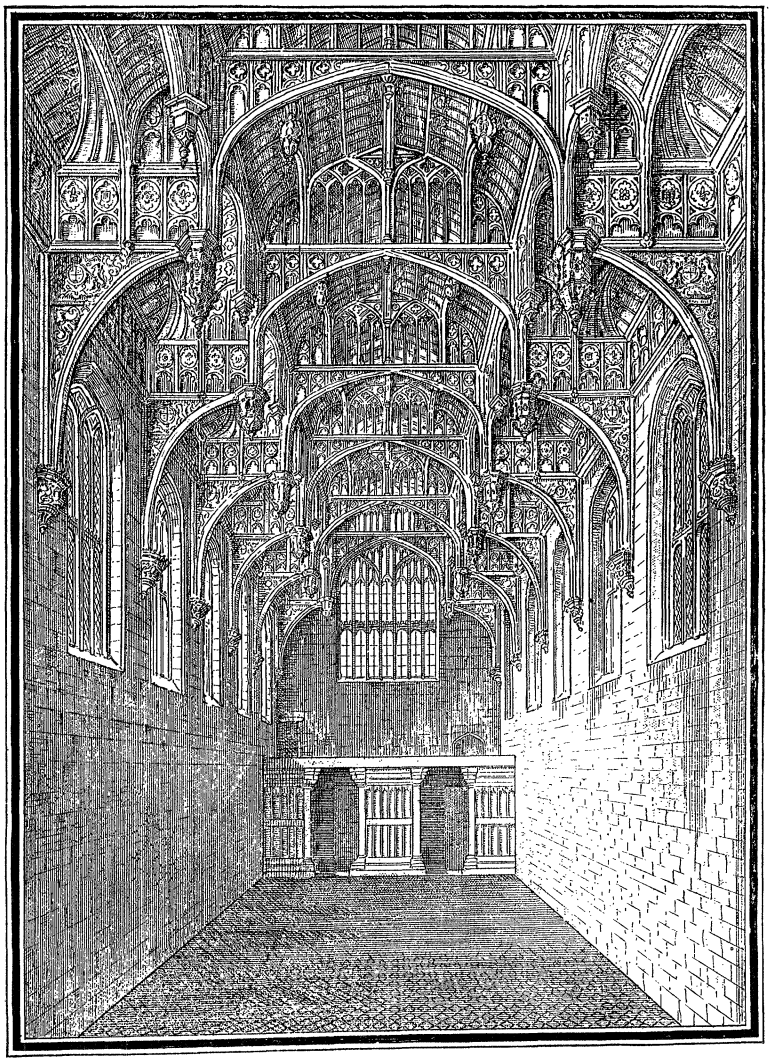
down a flight of stone stairs to Anne Boleyn's Gateway, and so into the open courts; the other, on the north side, leading down a flight of wooden steps into the cloister, and thence to the kitchens and offices, and to all the interior of the palace. At the back, exactly in the centre of the wall, was a door, now bricked up, into the pantry. The screen is divided, as was usual in mediæval halls, into three compartments, leaving two openings into the body of the hall, through which the company passed, and the servants brought up the dishes when grand banquets took place. Each course was heralded, as is recorded in the old romance, by the music of the merry minstrelsy :—

> Fro kechene came the fyrst cours
> With pipes, and trumps, and tabours.

The compartments, which, as well as the passage between them, were in olden days commonly called "the Screens," are flanked by heavy oak pillars, with moulded bases and capitals, and are formed into panels with carved tracery, showing the Tudor badges and Henry VIII.'s initials. An item in the old accounts relating to these is as follows :—

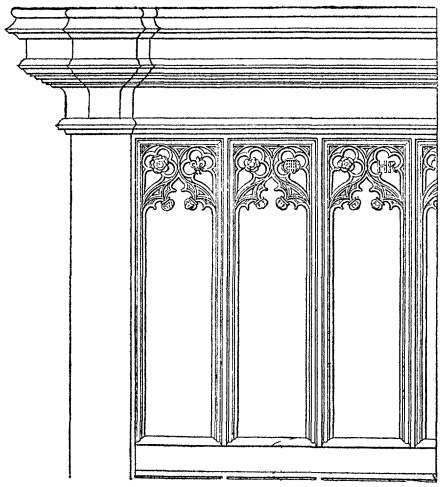
Payde to Richard Rydge of London, karver, for couttyng and karvyng of 32 lintels, wrought with King's badges and the Queene's standing in the screens within the King's new hall, 2s. 6d. the peece.

Above the screens is a loft, called "The Minstrel Gallery," which is reached by the spiral staircase in a turret in the south-west corner of the hall. Here were placed the minstrels in their picturesque attire, who played during banquets, interludes, masquerades, balls, and other festivities. The original front or balustrade of the gallery has been destroyed, but a not inappropriate modern one is now substituted.



The Great Hall. From the Daïs.

The most gorgeous part, however, of the Great Hall is the elaborate and ornate roof, probably the most splendid example in the Perpendicular style ever erected in England. That of Westminster Hall is, indeed, grander and more imposing; those of Crosby Hall and Eltham Palace purer



Panels of the Screen in the Hall.

in taste; but the roof of the great hall of Hampton Court Palace maintains an undisputed preeminence for complexity of workmanship and richness of decoration.

To analyze its structure in detail would be alien to the scope of these pages, but a general idea of its plan and appearance can be formed from the plate of the Hall here inserted, while the architectural student will find full particulars as to all its parts in the appendix,[1] where the

[1] Appendix C, No. XII. In Pugin's *Specimens* elevations, sections, and delineations of every portion, carefully drawn to scale, are given.

extracts from the original bills will enable anyone to trace out the whole construction, and to identify by whom each piece of moulding, carving, and painting was executed, and how much it cost. We may, however, observe here that it is what is technically called "a single hammerbeam roof," of seven compartments or bays. The pendants, especially the lower series, sixteen in number, under the hammer-beams, are particularly deserving of notice. They are no less than four feet ten inches in length, and, as the sketch opposite shows, are richly carved and ornamented; and curiously betray, in their details, the influence of the Italian Renaissance; though they were certainly carved, if not de-



One of the Carved Heads at the Spring of the Side Arches of the Roof.

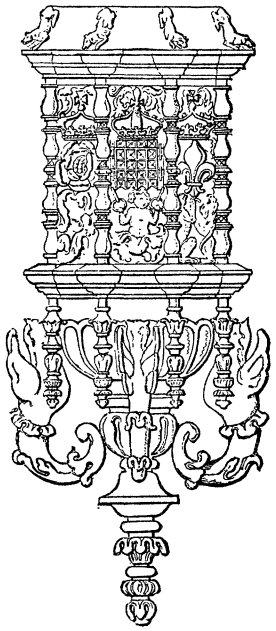
signed, by Englishmen, as is proved by the following item:—

Also payd to Richard Rydge, of London, kerver, for the making of 16 *pendaunts standyng under the hammer beam in the Kynge's new hall, at* 3*s.* 4*d. the peece.*

In the upper part of the roof, above the cross beam, called "the collar," is some beautiful open tracery work; and the curved ceilings above that, together with the two upper tiers of lesser pendants—3 feet and 2 feet 9½ inches in length respectively, should be noticed as peculiarities to be found in no Gothic roof but this. Attention ought also to be directed to the spandrels or "reprises," above the corbels, ornamented with the King's arms; and to the curious heads

of carved oak, painted, above the hammerbeams, at the springs of the side arches, or "cross-mountynes," as they were technically called.[1]

In the centre of the roof, exactly over the open hearth or



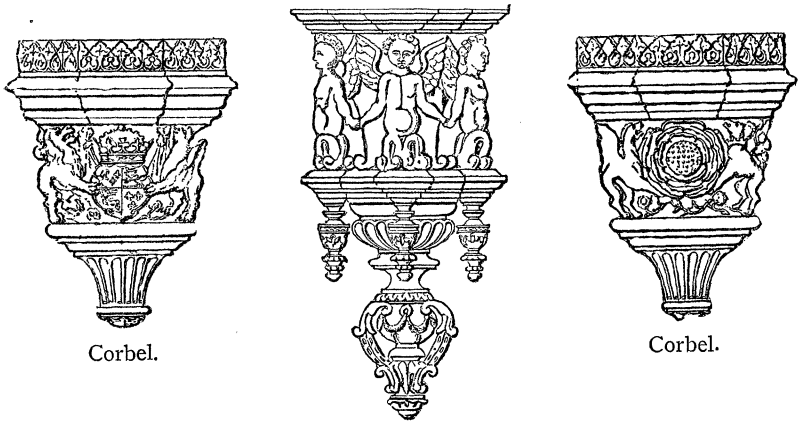
One of the Pendants under the Hammerbeam of the Roof.

fireplace on the floor of the hall, was the "femerell" or louvre, the exterior of which we have described. It served the twofold purpose of throwing light into the upper part of the roof (for which object the two lower storeys were glazed), and of affording a vent for the escape of the smoke

[1] See Appendix C, No. XII.

from the great logs of tarred wood that blazed below. The inside of the femerell was as richly decorated as the rest of the roof, the rafters that composed it terminating in several pendants, and its curved ceilings being painted blue and studded with golden stars.

At this point ought to be noticed, above the great win-



Corbel. Corbel.

One of the Upper Pendants.

dows at each end of the hall, the two upper windows, or "over-lights," as they used to be called, which, being placed as high as possible in the angle of the gable, shed an abundance of light on the upper portions of the roof. This arrangement, though not a common one, was adopted in several cases in the late Perpendicular period, and is found in most of Wolsey's halls.[1] Its advantages will be apparent to all who know how great is the difficulty of overcoming the darkness of open timbered roofs; and it is

[1] Turner's *Domestic Architecture*, vol. iii., p. 59.

strange that, among so many suggestions offered for remedying this defect in Westminster Hall, no one should have recommended a plan so obvious and simple as this, especially as we find it sanctioned by mediæval usage.[1]

It was at this period, towards the end of Anne Boleyn's reign, that was painted the picture of Henry VIII., now in the King's Gallery at Hampton Court, of which an autotype is prefixed as a frontispiece to this book. The question as to the painter has afforded much contention to the art critics, who have attributed it to such different hands as Holbein, Janet, Girolamo da Treviso, and others.[2] But that it is an exceedingly fine portrait, and one of the best likenesses of the King extant, admits of no dispute; and, moreover, it possesses the great interest of being—unlike the vast majority of the portraits of Henry VIII., of which Holbein's great fresco at Whitehall was the prototype—an undoubted and unique original.

The date of its being painted was early in 1536, when Henry VIII. ordered Miles Coverdale's English version of the whole Bible to be laid in the choir of every church, "for every man that will to look and read therein," in allusion to which he holds in his hand the text from St. Mark, "Go ye into the world and preach the gospel to every creature." The fashion in which his hair and beard are treated also helps to determine the date; for we read that on May 8th, 1535, "the King commanded all about his court to poll their heads; and to give them example he caused his own head to be polled, and from thenceforth his beard to be knotted, and no more shaven."[3] His beard and hair are cut according

[1] It will, of course, always be a question whether any *improvements* of this sort ought to be made in ancient and historic fabrics; but if in the case of Westminster Hall any is allowed, assuredly none would be so simple, easy, and correct as that indicated above.

[2] See the author's *Historical Catalogue*, No. 563, p. 188.

[3] Stowe's *Annals*.

to this fashion in this picture; previously his hair had been cut straight across the forehead, and hung down lower than the ears all round the head, and the face was shaven.

Contemporaneously with the building of the Great Hall, there were carried on several other works of scarcely less importance; such as the re-decoration of the adjoining room, henceforth called "The King's Great Watching Chamber," or "Guard Chamber," of which we shall give some account on a subsequent page; the enlarging and beautifying of the apartments occupied by the King; and the raising of an entirely new suite of state rooms for Anne Boleyn. The last were in substitution of the "Queen's Old Lodgings" before referred to, and were projected and carried out on a scale of unexampled splendour. Unfortunately they were demolished by Sir Christopher Wren, when he built William III.'s state rooms on the same site, but their extent and configuration can be arrived at from an old plan preserved in the Library of All Soul's College, Oxford. From this and from the original bills we can gather how spacious and extensive they were. Besides smaller rooms, we read of: The Queen's Watching Chamber, Waiting Chamber, Presence Chamber, Withdrawing Chamber, Privy Chamber, Bed Chamber, Raying Chamber (Dressing Room), Dining Chamber, Holiday Closet, Long Gallery, and so on.

But these sumptuous apartments Anne Boleyn was destined never to occupy, for her brief reign was rapidly drawing to its tragical close. Very soon after their marriage Henry's passion for her had shown signs of cooling, and the disappointment he felt at her not giving birth to a son rankled in his breast and increased his estrangement. He had already begun, as we have said, during the Christmas that followed their honeymoon visit to Hampton Court, to flirt with the young ladies of her court.[1] And it was not impro-

[1] Friedmann's *Anne Boleyn.*

bably in one of the rooms of this palace, that in the month of January, 1536, Anne surprised Jane Seymour sitting on his knee, and complaisantly receiving his most endearing caresses.[1]

Anne, whose temper was always quick, was incautious enough to show her resentment; and even made so bold, when she soon after miscarried of a male child, to charge his unkind usage of her, and the shock this flagrant proof of his inconstancy had given her, with causing the loss of her boy. Henry was not a man to tolerate any interference with his amours, or to stand a rebuke from a woman. He abruptly turned away, with the remark that "she should have no more boys by him," and from that moment her doom was practically determined. About four months after, his "own darling," on the 19th of May, the anniversary of the very day of her triumphal entry as Queen into London, was executed on Tower Green. That night Henry supped with Jane Seymour, and the next morning they were married.

[1] Wyatt's *Memoirs of Anne Boleyn*, p. 443.

CHAPTER XIV.

JANE SEYMOUR—BIRTH AND BAPTISM OF PRINCE EDWARD.

The Queen's new Apartments finished for Jane Seymour—Anne Boleyn's Arms, Badges, and Initials obliterated, and her's substituted—The King's Great Watching Chamber—Jane retires to Hampton Court "to take her Chamber" before her Accouchement—Her sumptuous Lodgings—The Queen's Long Gallery—Birth of Prince Edward—Circular Letter of the Queen—Joy of the Nation and the King—Baptism of the Prince—Description of the Chapel—Grand Ceremonial at the Christening—Order of the Procession from the Nursery through the Palace—The Canopy over the Prince—The Porch at the Chapel Door—The Font of Silver-gilt—A "Te Deum" Sung—The Baptism—The Torches lit—The Trumpets blown—Name and Style of Prince Edward proclaimed by the Heralds—He is carried to his Mother's Bed-Chamber—Receives his Parents' Blessing.

THE trial and execution of one Queen and her replacement by another was not a sort of event, in the reign of Henry VIII., to cause any interruption in the building of the "Queen's New Lodgings." Everything went on at Hampton Court as usual; only that the magnificent apartments, which had been begun for the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, were completed for her rival. Still, the rapid succession of Henry's wives caused some perplexity to the workmen and decorators. For scarcely had they carved or painted a falcon, Anne Boleyn's badge, in juxtaposition with the rose



Jane Seymour.—From the picture at Hampton Court, being a copy

or portcullis, or linked an A with an H in a true-lover's knot, than the badge and monogram were out of date. In the case of the groined ceiling under the Clock Tower, the initial of her murdered Majesty was suffered to remain; but elsewhere the painters, gilders, and glaziers were busily occupied, during the summer months of 1536, in adapting their heraldic embellishments to the altered circumstances.[1] For instance, numerous entries such as these occur:—

Item to the sayd John and Harry for Twenty vanes payntyd and new alteryd from Quene Annes armes unto Queen Janes with theyr badges.

Even the figure of St. Anne, in stained glass, in the east window of the chapel, shared the degradation of her namesake, and was taken down from its exalted position:—

For the translatyng and the remowfyng off images of Saynt Anna and other off Saynt Tomas, in the hye alter wyndow of the Chappell, 13*s.* 4*d.*[2]

In the two tablets, also, of carved stone at the chapel door, which had been executed some two or three years before,[3] and emblazoned with Henry VIII.'s and Queen Anne's arms, Queen Jane's quarterings took the place of her predecessor's,[4] and the A, which was linked with an H in a true-lover's knot, was painted out and replaced by a J—

[1] *Chapter House Accounts*, C. $\frac{6}{15}$, 283, &c.

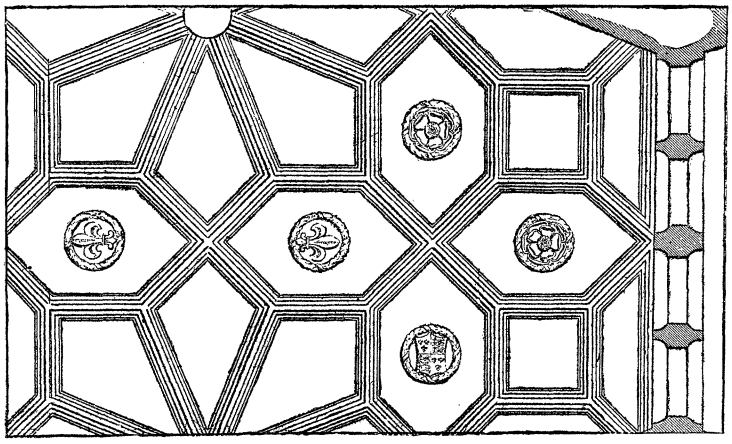
[2] *Chapter House Accounts*, C. $\frac{6}{15}$, folio 98.

[3] Appendix D, No. II. The item there only refers to the crowns; and as the supporters of the shields in these tablets are, on the left-hand side, male angels, and on the right-hand, female angels, it is possible that the tablets were originally put up by Wolsey (whose supporters, it will be remembered, were cherubs or angels), and afterwards adopted by Henry VIII.

[4] Jane Seymour's arms were: Quarterly of six. 1. O. on a pile between 6 fl.-de-lys Az., three lions of England (being an augmentation granted to Jane Seymour on her marriage). 2. G. two wings conjoined in lure, the tips downwards. O. — Seymour. 3. Vaire — Beauchamp of Hache. 4. A. three demi-lions rampant G.—Sturmy. 5. Per bend A. and G. three roses counterchanged — Macwilliams. 6. Checky Az. and Arg. on a bend G. three leopards' faces of the second — Coker.

a monogram which may be distinguished in the print of the doorway on page 189.

In the meanwhile the works on the King's apartments were being continued; and it was probably in the year 1536 that the final touches were put to Henry VIII.'s "Great Watching Chamber" or Guard Chamber, which, as we have said, had been nearly completed during the reign of Anne Boleyn. Among all the State rooms in the palace,



Plan of the Ceiling of Henry VIII.'s Great Watching Chamber.

including those in William III.'s apartments, there is scarcely one so large and fine as this;[1] and with its low ceiling of intricate ribs and pendants, its great semicircular oriel of thirty-six lights, its high clerestory windows, and its quaint and faded hangings of antique arras,[2] it preserves more of an old-world aspect than almost any other room in England.

Its general appearance may be seen from the folding plate

[1] Its length is 62 feet, its width 29 feet, and its height 29½ feet.

[2] It is still hung with the "Triumphs" described on pages 63-67.

at page 106, from which the structure of the ceiling can be followed out, by comparing it with the plan here inserted.[1]

The pendants, as well as the ribs that radiate from them, are of oak, carved and moulded; and though now smothered in modern whitewash, were formerly richly coloured and gilt. Between the ribs are ornaments, made of a composition somewhat like papier-maché, consisting of wreaths encircling the arms and badges of Henry VIII., and in one or two instances the badge of Jane Seymour—a castle, from the upper storey of which issue stalks of Tudor red-and-white roses, and flames of fire surmounted by a phœnix



Ornaments in the Ceiling of the King's Great Watching Chamber.

crowned; while in the lower storey grows a hawthorn tree, crowned (one of the Tudor emblems).

These were likewise "gylte with fyne golde and byse," of which traces still survive.

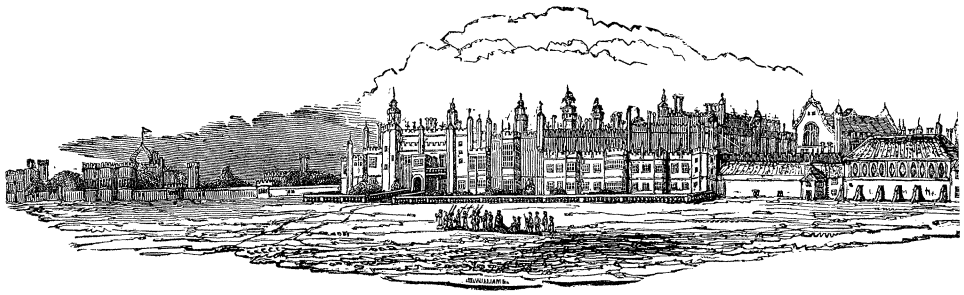
During the first year or so of Jane Seymour's reign, while the new apartments were being finished, she does not appear to have resided at Hampton Court at all. But she retired here, on September 16th, 1537, "to take her chamber,"[2] previous to her accouchement, which was expected in about a month. We may presume that she was installed in

[1] The items for its construction are given in Appendix F, No. II.

[2] *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. i., p. 565.

the new rooms, which were now ready, and fitted, as we have said, with every magnificence.

The annexed print of the old east front of the palace, as completed by Henry VIII., gives the view of them from the outside. The elevation is certainly irregular, and not imposing; but for that very reason, probably, the apartments were all the more convenient and comfortable inside. The largest and most sumptuous room was the "Queen's Long Gallery," 180 feet in length, and 25 feet in breadth, and lit by numerous windows on both sides. In the middle,



View of the old East Front of Hampton Court Palace, as finished by Henry VIII. From the engraving, after a drawing attributed to Hollar, published by the Society of Antiquaries in the "Vetusta Monumenta."

to the east, was a large circular bay window of twenty lights; and on either side five other large windows, the centre one being a bay window.[1] All of them were richly emblazoned with heraldic glass, exhibiting the arms, badges, devices, and mottoes of the King and Queen. The cornice and frieze were of elaborately wrought fret-work, painted and gilt, and the ceiling enriched with "1256 balls of burnisshed gold, with the leaves gilt." On the walls were the finest of Wolsey's tapestries.

[1] *Chapter House Accounts*, C. $\frac{6}{16}$, p. 191.

Next to this gallery, towards the south, was another large reception room, with a very lofty bay window of forty lights; and then came several other rooms, one of which was the Queen's bed-chamber, and which adjoined, at the corner, "The King's Long Gallery."

Henry accompanied his wife, or followed soon after, and he was present when, on Friday, October 12th, being the vigil of St. Edward's day, at two o'clock in the morning, she gave birth to a son.[1] On the announcement of this happy event, the joy of the whole nation, which thus found the dreaded danger of a disputed succession between Mary and Elizabeth set at rest, knew no bounds.[2] The news was communicated by a circular signed by Jane Seymour, sent to all the estates and cities of the realm :—

BY THE QUEEN.

Right trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. And forasmuch as by the inestimable goodness and grace of Almighty God, we be delivered and brought in childbed of a Prince, conceived in most Lawful Matrimony between my Lord the King's Majesty and us, doubting not but that for the love and affection which ye bear unto us and to the commonwealth of the Realm the knowledge thereof should be joyous and glad tidings unto you, we have thought good to certify you of the same. To the intent ye might not only render to God condign thanks and praise for so great a benefit, but also continually pray for the long continuance and preservation of the same here in this life, to the honour of God, joy and pleasure of my Lord the King and us, and th' universal weal, quiet and tranquillity of this whole Realm. Given under our Signet, at my lord's Manor of Hampton Court, the 12th of October.

[1] *London Chronicle* (Camden Society), p. 11. And see Nichols' *Literary Remains of Edward VI.*, vol. i., pp. xxiii and cclv, which gives an exhaustive account of every circumstance in Edward VI.'s life; and Wriothesley's *Chronicle* (Camden Society), p. 68.

[2] *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. i., pp. 570-2, and *Literary Remains*, &c., *passim.*

In answer to this, congratulations poured in upon all sides, and "Te Deums" were sung, bells rung, and bonfires lit in nearly every town in England. Of course the Protestant party were especially elated. Latimer's expressions of delight were so extravagant as almost to border on the blasphemous. "There is no less rejoicing," wrote he to Cromwell, "for the birth of our Prince, whom we hungered for so long, than there was, I trow, *inter vicinos*, at the birth of John the Baptist. God give us grace to yield due thanks to our Lord God—the God of England! For, verily, He hath showed Himself the God of England; or rather an English God, if we will consider and ponder His proceedings with us!" Nor was his Majesty, who had so long and ardently desired an heir, and been so often disappointed, less overjoyed at the appearance of a son. The view he took of it is exemplified by the well-known anecdote told of him, that when asked by the doctors whether they should save the mother or the child, he replied, "The child, by all means; for another wife is easily got, but not so another child." The story, however, that Edward was, in fact, brought into the world by the surgical art at the sacrifice of his mother's life,[1] is quite unsupported by any evidence, though at one time it derived some colour from the notion prevalent that Jane died two days after his birth. This first arose from an error in the "Chronicle" of Hall, who was followed by every subsequent historian, and was not confuted till the publication of the "State Papers" in 1831, when it was proved beyond a doubt that she lived for nearly a fortnight after the birth.[2]

[1] It first received historic currency from Nicolas Sanders' *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism;* but Mr. Froude traces the report to within a month of Jane's death, so Sanders must be acquitted of the charge of having invented it. Froude's *History*, vol. iii., p. 262.

[2] *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. i., p. 572. See also Sharon Turner's *History*, vol. ii., p. 482.

The baptism was arranged with that eye to the picturesque which was never wanting in those days, and took place on Monday, the 15th of October, in the chapel. That building and the "holiday closets," or oratories, adjacent to it, had just been much embellished by Henry VIII. New stained glass had been placed in the windows, and elaborately



The Chapel.

carved stalls, with "crests" or canopies, such as we see in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, had recently been erected. A new organ and organ-house also had been added, and the splendid arched roof, with its great pendants of angels holding escutcheons with the King's and Queen's arms and mottoes, and boys playing on musical instruments, had just

been "gylt wyth ffyne golde and ffyne byse, set owtt wyth other ffyne collers," and "set wyth antyke of leade, gylt wyth the Kynges worde."[1] Unfortunately this is the only part of the chapel still remaining in its pristine state, the stained glass having been knocked out during the Great Rebellion; the stone mullions of the windows, the tiles, the stalls, and other fixtures and ornaments taken away in the reigns of King William III. and Queen Anne, and replaced by work of a more modern kind; and the east window blocked up, and the pillared Italian canopy erected over the altar, at the same period.

The procession, which was "made, gathered and put in readiness" at the door of the "Prince's Lodgings," or royal nursery—situated to the north of the Chapel Court—passed thence through the Council Chamber, which was also in the same part of the palace.[2] First went all the gentlemen, squires, and knights, two and two, to the number of eighty, among whom were Mr. Heneage, Sir John Russell, Sir Nicholas Carew, Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir John Wallop, Henry Knyvet, Peter Meutas, Sir Nicholas Poyntz, Sir Walter Denys, Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir John Gage, and many other celebrated persons. They all carried torches of virgin wax in their hands, which, however, were not lit till after the christening. After them came the children and ministers of the chapel, together with the Dean and chaplains, all in surplices and copes. Next came the King's Council, and then the great lords, spiritual and temporal—the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Rochester, Chichester, St. Asaph, Carlisle, the Abbots of Westminster, St. Albans,

[1] For this and other items relating to the chapel, see Appendix D. The roof cost £450 of the then currency.

[2] The authority for the following account of the christening of Edward VI. is an original manuscript of the ceremonial in the British Museum, which is printed in the *Literary Remains of Edward VI.*, cited above, vol. ii., p. ccliv, with insertions and collations from other manuscripts in the College of Arms.

Waltham, Tower-hill, Stratford, the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Essex, Wiltshire, Sussex, and seventeen other peers. Then followed the Comptroller and Treasurer of the Household; next the ambassadors and their suites; after them the Queen's Chamberlain, the King's Chamberlain, and the Lord High Chamberlain of England; Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Next came the various persons who were to take part



Carrying of Prince Edward to the Font. From an original sketch of the whole procession in the College of Arms.

in the ceremony itself. First, the Earl of Sussex and another Lord carrying "a pair of covered basins, and a towel upon that, with a cup of assay." "Next after, a taper of virgin wax, borne by the Earl of Wiltshire, with a towel about his neck." After that, "a salt of gold, richly garnished with pearl and stone, borne by the Earl of Essex, with a towel about his neck." The "chrysom richly garnished, borne by the Lady Elizabeth, the King's daughter, the same for her tender age was borne by the Viscount Beauchamp, with the assistance of the Lord Morley." Lastly came the Prince himself, carried by the Marchioness of Exeter, "assisted by

the Duke of Suffolk and the Lord Marquis her husband." The train of the Prince's robe was borne by the Earl of Arundel and sustained by Lord William Howard. "The nurse went equally with him that supported the train, and with her the midwife." A rich canopy was borne over the Prince by four gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber; and torches were borne about the canopy by four other gentlemen. The engraving of the canopy is from a contemporary drawing of the whole procession.[1]

"Next after the canopy went the Lady Mary, the King's daughter, appointed for the lady godmother, with her train borne by the Lady Kingston." After the Lady Mary, "all other ladies of honour and gentlewomen, in order after their degrees, did follow."

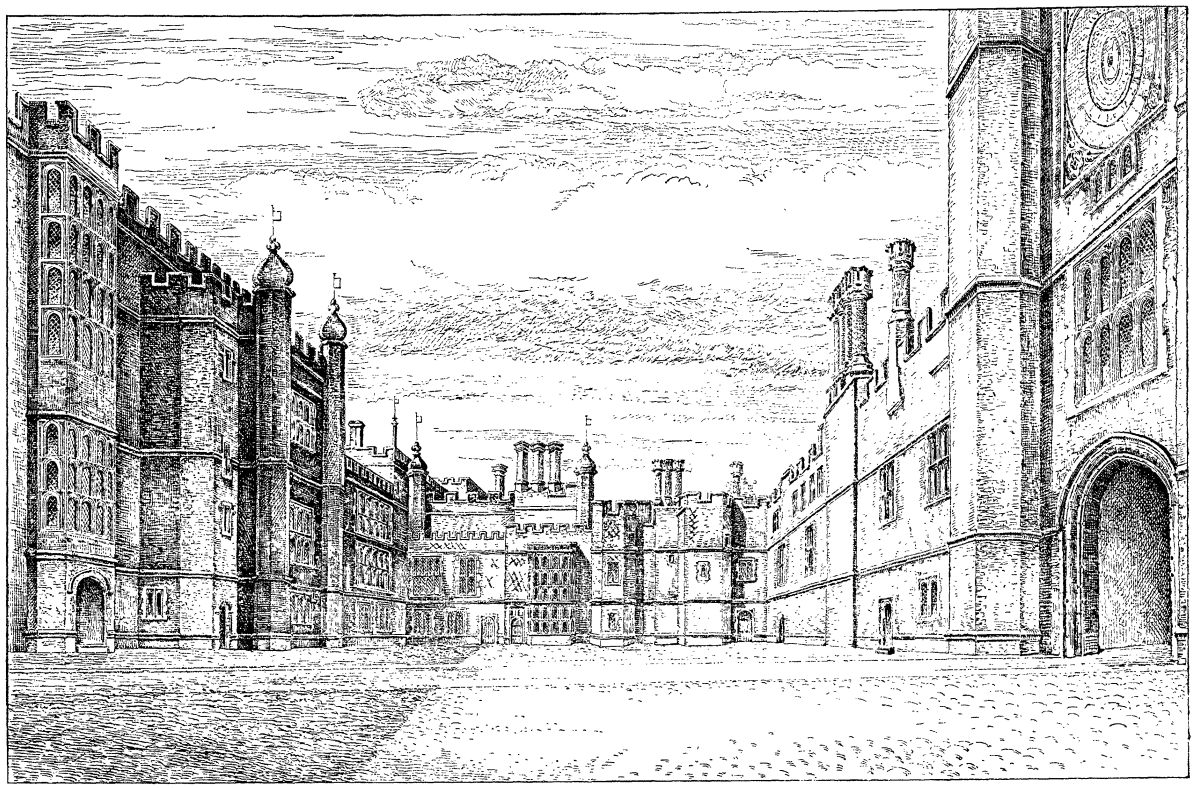
In this order the procession, attended by the King's and great nobles' servants, passed through the Council Chamber, along part of the "Haunted Gallery,"[2] and so into the "King's Great Watching Chamber," at the upper end of the Great Hall. Thence it passed through the Hall, down the Great Stairs, under Anne Boleyn's Gateway, into the Second or Clock Court, and then along the cloister towards the chapel door. All the way was lined with men-at-arms, attendants, and servants holding torches; and in the courtyard the ground was strewn with rushes; and barriers, decorated with rich hangings, were erected, behind which thronged all the dwellers in the palace. No other spectators, however, were present, for access to the Court had been prohibited by proclamation, on account of infection from the plague, which was prevailing at the time.[3]

In this manner the procession moved to the chapel door,

[1] Engraved in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, where it is, by error, entitled the Christening of Prince Arthur, Henry VII.'s son. See *Literary Remains*, *ubi supra.*

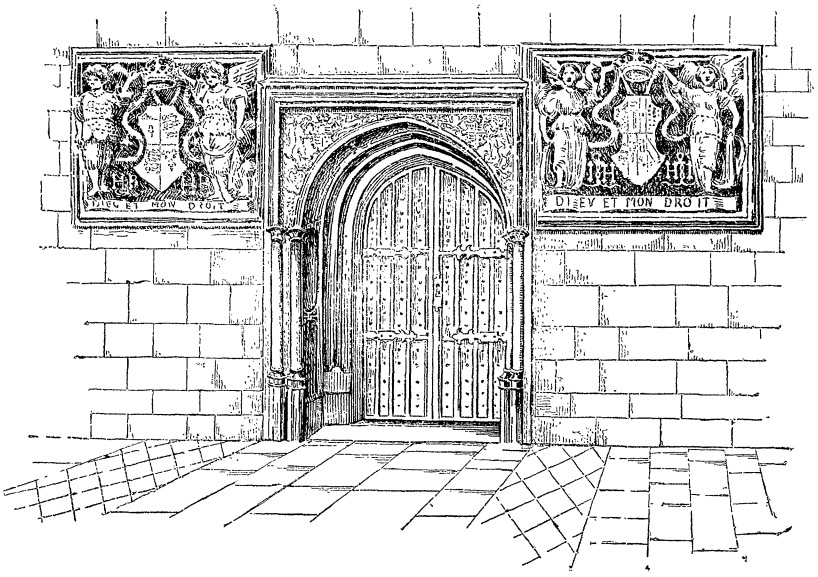
[2] In Mrs. Buchanan's apartments. See *post*, Chap. XVI.

[3] *Literary Remains*, p. cclxii.



The Clock Court, as it appeared in the reign of Henry VIII.

where a large porch had been erected, "covered with rich cloth of gold or arras, and double-hanged with rich arras, and the floor boarded and covered with carpets." Here, and at every point, were stationed gentlemen ushers. All the body of the chapel and the choir were likewise hung with



The Chapel Doorway.

tapestries, and "the high altar richly garnished with plate and stuff." In the middle of the choir had been erected a font of solid silver gilt, "set upon a mount or stage, made of 4 degrees in height and 8 square in compass, inclosed with double barriers of timber, with 2 or 3 entries, one to come in, another to pass to the travers (screen), the third to the

altar;" which traverses and barriers were hung with cloth of gold; and over the font was a rich canopy.[1]

To the south of the font was a space called a "travers," screened or curtained off, "for making ready the Prince to the christening," in which was a fire-pan of coals, "with a good perfume, basons and chaffers of silver and gilt, with water, to wash the Prince if need be." While the Prince was being prepared for the christening within the "travers," the "Te Deum" was sung by the choir, and then he was brought forth and baptized with all the elaborate ceremonial of that age. After the christening had been performed, all the torches were immediately lit, and Garter King-at-Arms proclaimed his name and style in the following form:—"God of his Almighty and infinite grace, give and grant good life and long to the right high, right excellent and noble Prince, PRINCE EDWARD, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, most dear and entirely beloved son to our most dread and gracious lord, King Henry the Eighth." [Larges! Larges!]

The procession then formed again in the same order as before, preceded by the serjeants-at-arms, with the heralds sounding their trumpets, and all the torches lit. Various persons also carried the christening gifts that had been made to the Prince, among which was a cup of gold given by the Princess Mary. Thus they proceeded to the Queen's Bed-Chamber, into which the Prince was brought by some of the principal persons; the trumpets, in the meanwhile, "standing in the utter court within the gate, there blowing, and the minstrels playing, which was a melodious thing to hear."

[1] In one of the manuscripts of the ceremonial in the College of Arms, M. 6, is a drawing of the mount or stage with the font. In regard to the stage of the font we notice the following item in the Hampton Court Accounts for the month of October, 1537:—

"Carpenters working in theyr owre tymes and drynkyng tymes uppon the font in the chapell, with sondry raylyngs belowngyng to the same."

During the baptism Henry VIII. had remained with Jane Seymour in her bed-room, where the Prince was then presented to him, "and had the blessing of Almighty God, our Lady, and St. George, and his father and mother."

We should here notice, perhaps, a tradition which would identify a certain room in the south-east corner of the "Clock Court" as the very one in which Edward VI. was born. There is, however, nothing to support this so-called "tradition," which is itself in truth nothing more than a gratuitous conjecture of recent times.[1] Not to notice other improbabilities, the room in question is not an ancient one at all, but was altered in the middle of the last century; and the recess shown as the place where the Queen's bed stood, is nothing more than a clumsy alcove erected in the time of George II. The bed in which Edward was born, and in which Jane Seymour died, was shown in the palace in Queen Elizabeth's time.[2]

[1] It is possible, however, that the bed-room occupied by Jane Seymour was in the Queen's old apartments on the second floor in this court (see pp. 102, 129), and not the new apartments recently referred to.

[2] Hentzner's *Journey into England.*

CHAPTER XV.

DEATH OF JANE SEYMOUR—COMPLETION OF THE PALACE.

Illness of Jane Seymour—Her Death—Funeral Services in the Presence Chamber and Chapel—Her Body removed to Windsor—Twelve Hundred Masses said for the Repose of her Soul—Her Ghost in the Silver-Stick Gallery—Mrs. Penn, Prince Edward's Nurse—Apparitions of her Ghost—Prince Edward's Household at Hampton Court—Henry VIII. finishes the Palace—Decorative Terra Cotta—The Cloister Green Court—The King's New Apartments—View of the Old Palace from the Thames—The Long Gallery—The Water Gallery—The Arbours—The Privy Garden—The Mount Garden—The King's Orchard—Admiration of Foreigners for Hampton Court.

VERY soon after this ceremony the Queen was taken with a serious illness, aggravated by having been allowed by those, who had charge of her, to eat improper food, and catch cold.[1] She was attended by three great physicians at Court,[2] who signed frequent bulletins as to her condition. All their art and care, however, were unavailing; and on Wednesday, the 24th of October, they wrote to Cromwell, who was

[1] "Our mistress," says Cromwell, in a letter to Gardiner and Lord William Howard, "through the fault of them that were about her, which suffered her to take great cold, and to eat things that her fantasy in sickness called for, is departed to God."—*State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. viii., p. 1.

[2] One of these was the famous Dr. Butts, immortalized by Shakespeare; and another George Owen, afterwards Edward VI.'s physician.

absent from Court, concerning the Queen :—"All this night she hath been very sick, and doth rather appair than amend. Her confessor hath been with her Grace this morning, and hath done what to his office appertaineth, and even now is preparing to minister to her Grace the sacrament of Unction. At Hampton Court this Wednesday morning, at eight of the clock."[1] During the day she continued to grow worse, and at two o'clock at night the soul of Henry VIII.'s third Queen quietly passed away.[2]

The grief of the King at her death is said to have been very deep and sincere, though the fact that he at once withdrew from the palace "to a solitary place, not to be spoken with, leaving some of his counsellors to take order about her burial," on the plea that "he could not find it in his heart" to remain,[3] may not unfairly be attributed to a desire to avoid the long and dreary ceremonies that preceded the burial.

Next day the corpse was embowelled, that is, embalmed, "and wax-chandlers and plumbers, and such others did their office about her." On the following day, Friday, the body was removed, with much solemnity, from the room in which she died, on a hearse covered with a rich pall of cloth of gold, and a cross set upon it, to the Presence Chamber (probably the room next to the "Great Watching Chamber"), which had been prepared for the lying-in-state. Here the hearse was placed in the middle of the room, with twenty-four tall tapers about it; all the walls were draped with black; and an altar was provided for masses to be said, "richly apparelled with black, garnished with the cross, images, censers, and other ornaments." This done, dead masses were said and dirges sung, day and night for a week,

[1] *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. i., p. 572.

[2] Wriothesley's *Chronicle* (Camden Society), p. 70.

[3] Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii., p. 11, and *State Papers, ubi supra*, p. 573.

for the repose of her soul; and the ladies of the Court, with the Princess Mary,[1] in mourning habits, with white kerchiefs over their heads and shoulders, "kneeling about the hearse in lamentable wise," kept incessant watch by the body. Among the Hampton Court Papers in the Record Office is this curious entry relating to these events:—

Payd to Will. Benston and Harry Frye, glasyars, for takyng down of sertten panes of glas with the settyng up the same agayne in sondry wyndowes in the Queenes lodgeing at the Queenes beryall that the ayar might have recourse, every of them at 8d. *the day by the space of eight days.*[2]

On the last day of October, the body, after it had been solemnly blessed with holy water and incensed with smoking censers, by the Bishop of Carlisle, her almoner, assisted by the Bishop of Chichester and many other ecclesiastical dignitaries, was removed in procession to the Chapel, with the priests and choir singing and carrying tapers. Here the same rites were continued till November the 12th, on which day the coffin was carried to the "Clock Court,"[3] where it was placed on a funeral car, drawn by four horses trapped with black velvet, "with four escutcheons of the King's arms and Queen's, beaten in fine gold upon double sarcenet; and upon every horse's forehead a shaffron of the said arms"—decorations evidently much in the style of the modern undertaker. On the bier was "a representation of the Queen in her robes of estate—one of those waxwork effigies well known to sightseers in Westminster Abbey—with a rich crown of gold upon her head, all her hair loose, a sceptre of gold in her right hand, and on her fingers rings set with precious stones, and her neck richly adorned with

[1] Princess Mary gave an offering of a shilling, at thirteen masses said for the late Queen. *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 45.

[2] Chapter House Accounts, C. $\frac{6}{16}$, p. 195.

[3] Strype, *ubi supra.*

gold and stones; and under the head a rich pillow of cloth of gold tissue; her shoes of cloth of gold, with hose and smock, and all other ornaments."

Princess Mary was the chief mourner; and she, as well as all the ladies of the Court, rode on horses trapped with black velvet. In this manner, the whole funeral cavalcade proceeded to Windsor, where the body was buried in St. George's Chapel.

At St. Paul's a solemn dirge and a requiem, attended by the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Common Council, were sung; and the Corporation also ordered twelve hundred masses to be said for the repose of her soul, within the bounds of the City.[1]

But even this large number of masses does not appear to have been sufficient for the repose of the soul of the whilome maid of honour, who had supplanted her Queen and mistress, Anne Boleyn, in the affections of Henry VIII., and been the proximate cause of her death. For, if we are to credit the assurances of those who believe in supernatural visitations, a spectre of Queen Jane, clothed all in white, has been seen to emerge from the doorway, of which we have already given a sketch,[2] in the Queen's old apartments—where perhaps it was that she had been discovered sitting in amorous dalliance on Henry VIII.'s knee—and wander about, with a lighted taper in her hand, on the stairs and in the neighbouring Silver-Stick Gallery.[3]

Having made this digression into the spirit world, we may as well here introduce the reader to another and better known Hampton Court ghost, the accounts of whose appearances are more definite and circumstantial than are usually forthcoming in such cases. The ghost in question is that of

[1] *State Papers* (Henry VIII.), vol. i., part ii., p. 574.

[2] See page 102.

[3] See Miss Strickland's *Life of Jane Seymour.*

Mistress Sibell Penn, daughter of William Hampden of Dodyngton (Dunton) and Wingrave,[1] in Buckinghamshire, who married David Penn, and who, in October, 1538, exactly a year after Jane Seymour's death, became Prince Edward's dry-nurse and foster-mother. She owed her appointment to the good offices of Sir William Sydney, who, it seems, was her brother-in-law,[2] and who recommended to Cromwell "the good hability of my wife's sister for the room of my Lord the Prince's good grace's dry norrice," on account of her "demeanour, hableness, honesty and truth, in whom I doubt not there shall be found no want of diligence nor scarcity of good-will towards the accomplishment of that which unto her office and duty shall appertain at all times." Her duties in this capacity she discharged with such care, fidelity, and loyal affection, that she won the

[1] William Hampden was the eldest son and heir of Sir Edmund Hampden, Knt., of Woodstock. He married Audrey, eldest daughter and co-heiress (with her sister Sibell), of Richard Hampden of Kimbell. He died on August 25th, 1521, and left to his three daughters, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Sibell (afterwards Mrs. Penn), £100 each. Richard Hampden's mother was Sibell, daughter of Richard Bedford, whence the family name of Sibell. Lipscombe's *History of Buckinghamshire*, vol. ii., pp. 345, 346.

Mr. Nichols, in *Literary Remains*, vol. i., p. xxxiii, erroneously states that she was the daughter of Sir Hugh Pagenham. That she was a Hampden is clear from her arms and the inscription on her monument. Mr. Nichols likewise confuses her with an entirely different Mrs. Penne, the wife of John Penne, barber-surgeon to Henry VIII., who was afterwards remarried to John Barley. See Clutterbuck's *History of Hertfordshire*, vol. ii., pp. 305, 306.

Noble, in his *House of Cromwell*, vol. ii., p. 63, is equally wrong in saying that she was the daughter of Sir John Hampden of the Hill—a misstatement in which he has been followed by Lord Nugent in his *Memorials of Hampden*, vol. i., p. 3. That she was the daughter of William Hampden of Dunton is indisputably proved from his will, printed in Lipscombe's *Buckinghamshire*, *ubi supra*.

[2] We presume that it is Mrs. Penn whom Sir William designates as his "wife's sister," in his letter to Cromwell, thanking him for making the appointment. (See *Literary Remains*, *ubi supra*.) But there is the difficulty that Mr. Nichols states that he married Anne, daughter of Sir Hugh Pagenham. If this is correct, perhaps he was united to one of Mrs. Penn's sisters by a second or a former marriage. Otherwise we must suppose that Sir W. Sydney's letters refer to some other lady, who was almost immediately superseded in her office by Mrs. Penn.

gratitude and esteem of Henry VIII.,[1] as well as the fond regard of her foster-son.[2] When he grew up and became King, she continued to live at Court,[3] and after he died, was treated with kindness and consideration by Queen Mary[4] and Queen Elizabeth, and apparently was given apartments at Hampton Court.

Here, at any rate, in the autumn of 1562, she was taken ill with the small-pox, at the same time that Queen Elizabeth was attacked by that disease, and she died in the palace on the 6th of November[5] in that year. Her body was buried in Hampton Church, and a fine monument, consisting of a life-sized recumbent effigy of the old lady, under a marble canopy supported on Corinthian pillars and pilasters, was raised over her tomb.[6] On the monument is the date of her death, her coat of arms,[7] and the following rhyming epitaph to her memory :—

> Penn here is brought to home, the place of long abode,
> Whose vertue guided hath her shippe unto the quyet rode,
> A myror of her time for virtues of the mind,

[1] He gave her a grant of the manor of Beaumond and the rectory of Little Missenden, in co. Bucks.

[2] Among the Holbein drawings at Windsor Castle is one of a young woman, as to whose identity there has been considerable speculation. It is inscribed "Mother Jak, King Edward's nurse" (see Chamberlaine's *Imitations*) ; on which ground Miss Strickland (*Lives of Queens of England*, ed. 1851, vol. iii., p. 20) and other writers have assumed that her name must have been Jackson. It is more probable, however, that the appellation "Mother Jak" was an infantine nickname given by the little prince to Mrs. Penn, especially as the features of her effigy in Hampton Church accord with those in Holbein's drawing.

[3] On New Year's Day, 1548, the young King gave "To Maistres Penn in Buckinghamshire the Kinges norce servaunt, 10*s*."—*Literary Remains of Edward VI.*, vol. i., p. cccxv.

[4] In 1556, among the "New Year's Gifts" to Queen Mary is :—"Mrs. Penn, that was King Edward's nurse, six handkercheves edged with passamyne of golde and silke."—*Do.*, p. xxxiii.

[5] *Calendars of State Papers, Foreign*, No. 1053, anno 1562.

[6] A plate of the monument was engraved for Thomas Penn, Esq., in 1768.

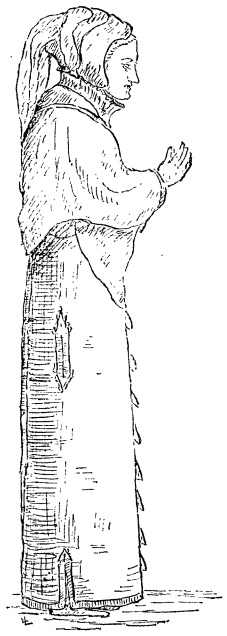
[7] The arms are : On a fesse 3 roundles impaling Hampden with its quarterings, not blazoned.

A matrone such as in her dayes the like was herd to finde.
No plant of servile stock, a Hampden by descent,
Unto whose race 300 years hath friendly fortune lent.
To courte she called was to foster up a King,
Whose helping hand long lingering sutes to speedie end did bring.
Two quenes that sceptre bore gave credit to y^s^ dame,
Full many yeres in courte she dwelt without disgrace or blame,
No howse ne worldly wealth on earth she did regarde,
Before eche joye, yea and her life, her Prince's health prefer'd,
Whose long and loyal love with skilful care to serve,
Was such as did through heavenlie helpe her Prince's thankes deserve.
Woolde God the grounde were grafte with trees of such delighte,
That idell braines of fruitfull plantes might find just cause to write
As I have plyd my pen to praise this Pen withall
Who lies entombed in this grave untill the trompe her call,
This resting place behold no subject place to bale,
To which perforce ye lookers on your fleeting bodies shall.

This inscription and the rest of the monument still remain intact in the staircase going to the organ-loft; but it appears that when the old church was pulled down in 1829, Mrs. Penn's tomb was irreverently disturbed, and her remains scattered—though one account declares that all that was found under the monument was a hair-pin and a little hair, from which it was inferred that her body had been previously removed.

But whenever the desecration may have been perpetrated, certain it is—as the story goes—that immediately after the shifting of the position of Mrs. Penn's monument, strange noises, as of a woman working at a spinning-wheel, and muttering the while, were heard through the wall of one of the rooms in the large apartment in the south-west wing of the palace. When search was made, by the Board of Works, in the direction whence these mysterious sounds proceeded, an ancient, and till then, unknown chamber was discovered, in which an antique spinning-wheel and a few

other articles were found, and the old oak planks were seen to be worn away where the treadle struck the floor. The idea broached at that time was, that on account of the desecration of her tomb, her spirit had returned to haunt the rooms which she had occupied in life.



The Ghost of Mrs. Penn, Edward VI.'s Nurse.

No further manifestations, however, were noticed, till about five or six years ago, when—according to the ghost-story-tellers—the phenomena were renewed, and have since become increasingly frequent and startling. One of the recorded occurrences is the apparition of Mrs. Penn, about four years ago, in the dead of night, to a sentry on guard

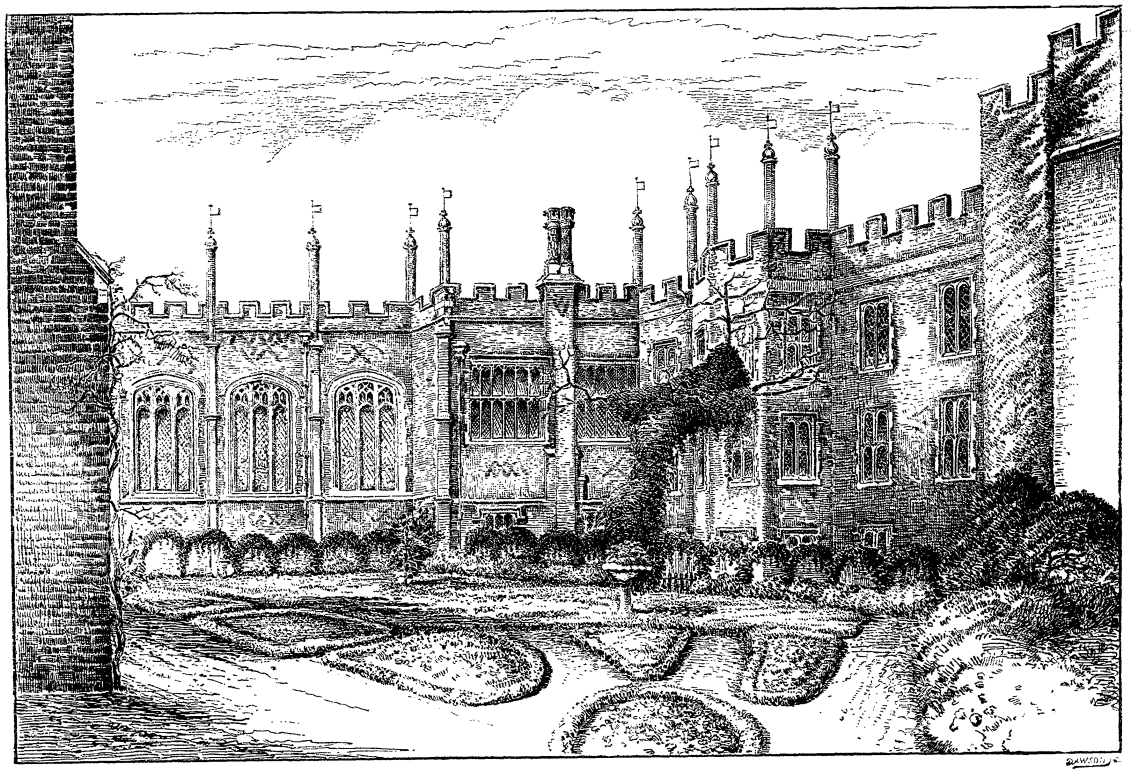
not far from the haunted chamber, who, on seeing her, ran in abject terror to the guard-room, declaring he had seen a spectral form pass through the wall.

Other accounts describe the constant prevalence of mysterious sounds—such as the low whirring of an unseen spinning-wheel, the weird mutterings of a sepulchral voice, and the stealthy tread of invisible feet. It is even affirmed that Mrs. Penn's tall, gaunt form, dressed in a long, grey robe, with a hood over her head, and her lanky hands outstretched before her, has been seen in the haunted chamber—a supernatural visitation, which was rendered the more impressive from the narrator being a recent arrival at the palace, and consequently ignorant of the legend. And when, afterwards, attention was drawn to Mrs. Penn's monument (the existence of which was, at that time, unknown to anyone in the palace), and it was found that the description of the ghost exactly corresponded with the appearance of the effigy, the coincidence was so startling as to shake the judgment even of the most sceptical.

Enough has now been probably stated to establish the claim of Mrs. Penn to rank among the best authenticated of historical ghosts.

To return to the current of our narrative. Although Henry VIII. left Hampton Court at once on the death of Jane Seymour, and, apparently, did not return there till November in the following year,[1] the infant Prince Edward was left behind in the royal nursery at the palace, where, almost immediately, a regular household, of considerable state and dignity, was established for his protection and care. Sir William Sydney was placed at its head, as chamberlain, and his subordinates consisted of a chief steward, a vice-chamberlain, a comptroller, a lady mistress, a cofferer, a

[1] *State Papers* (Henry VIII.), vol. viii., part v., p. 102, Nov. 28th, 1538.



The Chapel Court, as seen from Prince Edward's (Edward VI.) Lodgings.

dean, and several others, including the nurse and rockers.[1] All of these officials were subjected to an elaborate code of regulations, which were drawn up and promulgated, probably by Cromwell, with all the formality of an act of parliament. The preamble opened with the following solemn declaration: "The King's Highness willeth that his said trusty and well-beloved servants shall conceive that, like as there is nothing in this world so noble, just and perfect, but that there is something contrary, that evermore envieth it, and procureth the destruction of the same, insomuch as God Himself hath the Devil repugnant to him, Christ hath his Antichrist and persecutor, and from the highest to the lowest after such proportion, so the Prince's grace, for all his nobility and innocency (albeit he never offended anyone), yet by all likelihood he lacketh not envy nor adversaries against his grace."

The document, after a good deal more verbiage, proceeds to lay down a series of stringent regulations for the safeguarding of the young prince—forbidding the admittance of anyone, of whatever state or dignity, to the precincts of the royal nursery, or the touching of his person, cradle, or anything belonging to him, without a special permit; decreeing a careful inspection and testing of the food he ate, and the water he drank; and enacting a detailed etiquette as to the brushing, cleaning, and airing of his clothes.[2]

Fenced and protected by such precautions, the little Prince passed the first year of his existence in good health and without mishap, in the royal nursery, or "the Lord Prince's Lodgings," as his rooms were sometimes called, on the north side of the Chapel Court, and here he was visited several times by his sister, the Lady Mary, then living close

[1] Items occur in the Hampton Court accounts relating to the "Rocking Chamber."

[2] *Literary Remains*, p. xxix.

by at Richmond, whence she came over, sometimes by barge and sometimes on horseback, to see him.[1]

In the meanwhile, during the year following Jane Seymour's death, the work of enlarging and embellishing the palace was as actively continued as before; and by the end of 1538 Henry VIII.'s additions to Wolsey's original palace were pretty well complete. The concluding portion of the work—the "King's new Lodging in the Privy Garden"—consisted, in the main, of a range of buildings facing south, and extending at right angles with the "Queen's New Lodgings," already described, so as to complete, with them, the enclosure of the new "Inner" or "Cloister Green Court."[2]

Of the internal arrangements of Henry VIII.'s rooms in this new apartment, we can arrive at no idea; though we find enumerated the King's Presence, Withdrawing, Dining and Privy Chambers, and his Privy Study, Old and New Libraries, Privy Closet, &c. But of the configuration of the main buildings, a notion is to be formed from the rough plan, preserved in the Library of All Souls' College, Oxford,[3] which we have followed in the plan of the first floor of the palace, prefixed to this book. From this we gather that the outline of the King's new lodgings, as well as of the Queen's, was irregular, and broken here and there by turrets and bay windows; and on their inner side we can trace indications of the cloisters, which, as the name "Cloister

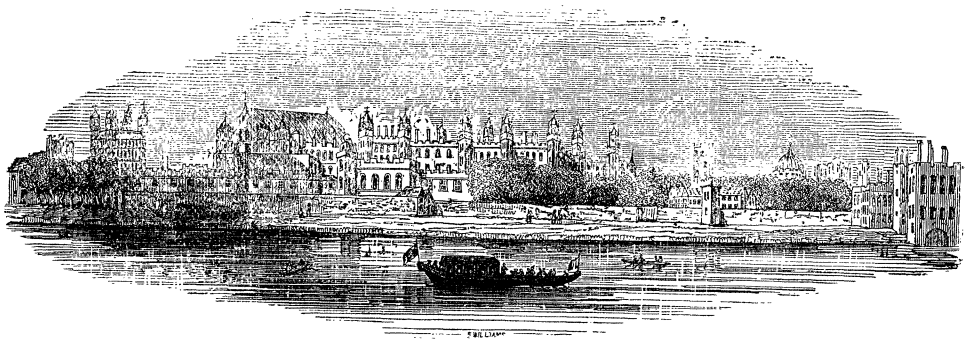
[1] Her visits took place November, 1537, and in March, April, and May, 1538. Her *Privy Purse Expenses* contain entries of payments to ferrymen and palfreymen, and of presents to the Prince's minstrels. Nicolas, pp. 61, 64, 69.

[2] "Cloister Green Court" is the name by which it is designated in the Parliamentary Survey of 1653; in Henry VIII.'s time it was usually called the "Inner Court;" while the "Clock Court" was known, in contradistinction, as the "Inner Court, where the fountain standeth."

[3] It is to be found among Sir Christopher Wren's designs, and appears to have been drawn by him, when designing the new State Apartments.

Green Court" implies, existed on the four sides of the new quadrangle. Beyond this we have no information as to the appearance of this courtyard. Its dimensions were from north to south 108 feet and from east to west 116 feet.[1]

But of the outward aspect of the frontage facing the river, we have some memorials in the old view of which we here



View from the River Thames of the old Palace of Hampton Court, as finished by Henry VIII. From a plate in the "Vetusta Monumenta," engraved after an ancient painting.

give an engraving, and in the more trustworthy drawing by Antonius Wynegaarde, of which a plate will be found in a subsequent chapter. From both of these illustrations, it is

[1] In front of the previously existing buildings on the west side, and partly on the north side, the cloisters appear to have been additions, not extending beyond the ground floor. In the new buildings, on the east and south, they were apparently built as part of the main structure. This is suggested by various entries in the accounts, such as: "Casting lead on the arches in the Inner Court next the King's lodgings;" "timber bars for the arches before the King's lodgings," &c.

A note of Inigo Jones, in his copy of Palladio, says:—"The Green Court [at Hampton Court] is 108 fo. broade and 116 fo. long, the walkes or cloysters ar 14 fo. betwene the walles."—Cunningham's *Life of Inigo Jones* (Shakespeare Society), p. 17. On the site of the Cloister Green Court, had formerly been, in Wolsey's time, a parterre, called 'The Knott Garden;' and the area appears to have been always laid down in grass. Shakespeare alludes in *Love's Labour's Lost* to "Thy curious knotted garden."

clear that, in architectural style, this part of the edifice followed very much the lines of the earlier work; for we recognize the same embrasured parapets, oriel windows, octagonal towers, turrets with "types," and pinnacles with vanes that we particularized as being the distinctive marks of the Tudor Gothic of Hampton Court.

At the same time, this later work was evidently more ornate, and more richly decorated, than Wolsey's severer model.[1] One feature in this regard, was the less restricted



Grotesque Head of English Terra Cotta used in the Decoration of Henry VIII.'s Palace.

use, in the brickwork, of ornaments in terra cotta, similar to that with which the Cardinal decorated his walls, but of English instead of Italian make. Some fragments of this material, in various designs, were recently dug up in the "Round Kitchen Court;" and we select a grotesque head as a specimen of a sort of ornamentation much in vogue in buildings of the latter part of this reign.[2]

[1] The items for the colouring of the walls and chimneys (already noticed) especially, become more frequent at this period.

[2] The best example of an extensive use of terra cotta in a brick Tudor building is at Sutton Place, near Guildford in Surrey, built about 1530, where not only the decorative work, but even the mullions, coigns, string-courses, embrasures, and other parts of the construction are composed of this material.

We have not yet, however, noticed all the additional buildings of Henry VIII. which were subsequently destroyed to make way for Wren's State Apartments. For there were several outlying turrets and towers, connected by galleries, ranging in an irregular line from the south-east angle of the main structure to the river side; where, on the bank, was a large building or tower, flanked with turrets, with stairs and a water-gate, at which the King alighted from his barge when he came to the palace by water. This communicated by a private gallery, known as "The Water Gallery,"[1] with another large subsidiary building called the "Great Round Arbour,"[2] which consisted of three storeys, each almost entirely composed of windows, while the top was roofed by a large leaden cupola, with an heraldic beast at its apex, carrying a large vane, crowned. This "arbour" stood on a raised bit of ground called the "Mount,"[3] the path up to which was bordered with a series of "King's beasts," such as lions, greyhounds, dragons, panthers, hinds, bulls, antelopes, harts, and leopards, all bearing vanes, and fixed on bases or piers, painted in stripes of white and green—the Tudor colours.[4]

A glimpse of these heraldic decorations, and of the top of the Round Arbour, may be seen in the plate of Wynegaarde's drawing, where behind them also appears the "King's Long Gallery," which jutted out into the park in an easterly direction, at right angles to the other galleries, and at the end of which was a room most gorgeously furnished, called "Paradise," which we shall notice later on.[5]

[1] The name still survives as a designation of that end of the great terrace walk which overlooks the Thames.

[2] Sometimes also called the "Lantern Arbour."

[3] Leland, who of course had seen Hampton Court, speaks of "fayre-made walks in gardens, and *mountes* writhing about with degrees (steps), like turnings of cokil shells to come to the top without pain."

[4] Appendix H., No. III.

[5] Chapter XXV., and see Appendix F, No. IV.

From the same view we can get a very tolerable idea of the conformation of Henry VIII.'s gardens, on which much labour and care were expended. Though not so extensive as they now are, they were pleasant and curious, and in a style not much dissimilar from that advocated by Bacon in his delightful essay. The ruling idea was to lay them out in such a way as to be suitable to the variable conditions of our climate; so that for cold and wet weather there were dry walks, walled parterres, sheltered alleys, and cloisters and houses half-open to the air; and for summer-time shady nooks, grassy plots, flowery bowers, banqueting houses and "arbours." Nor was there any stint of artificial embellishments. Studded about in all parts were sundials;[1] and along all the walks and flower-beds, on the low walls that divided the various parterres, and round about the numerous ponds in the Pond Garden, were fixed heraldic beasts on pedestals, bearing vanes and shields with the King's arms and badges; and the flower-beds were also edged with rails, painted white and green,[2] such as may be discerned in the highly curious views of one of Henry VIII.'s gardens, forming the background, in the sketches on the next page,[3] to the portraits of Will Somers and Jane the Fool.[4] Visible surviving traces, however, of the old Hampton Court gardens are but few. For though the Privy Garden and Mount Garden of Henry VIII. occupied the same ground as the present private gardens, all their essentials have been long since obliterated. The Pond Garden alone, which lies between the palace and the

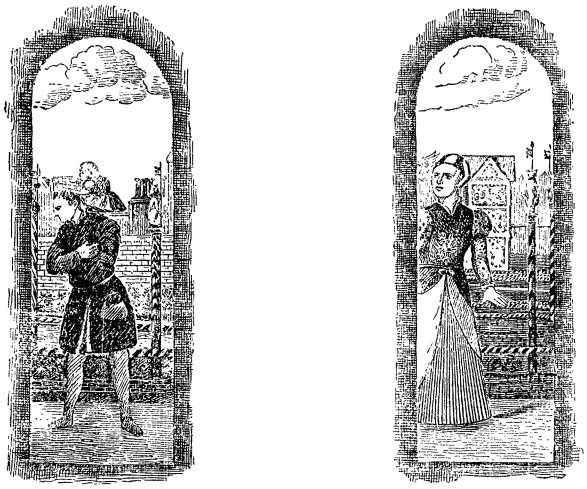
[1] One item in the accounts is:—"To Bryce Augustyne of Westminster, cloke-maker, for makyng of 16 brasin dyalls, servyng for the Kynges new garden at 4*s.* 4*d.* the pece."

[2] Appendix H., Nos. I. and II.

[3] These two sketches are from Henry VIII.'s great family picture at Hampton Court, of the central portion of which an autotype is given further on. The background is probably intended for Whitehall and Westminster.

[4] Jane the Fool was Princess Mary's female jester, of whom full particulars will be found at p. 241 of Madden's *Privy Purse Expenses.*

Banqueting House, and which is perhaps the most enchanting spot in all the grounds at Hampton Court, still retains something of its ancient Tudor aspect, being still divided into its original rectangular enclosures by low brick walls, overgrown with creepers, in the corners of which may be



View of one of Henry VIII.'s Gardens, with Portraits of Will Somers and Jane the Fool.

detected the bases of the stone pieces that supported the heraldic beasts.

The flower-beds were, of course, stocked exclusively with English plants — with rosemary, violets, sweet williams, roses, gillyflowers, &c. When Princess Mary came on a visit to the palace, the gardener usually waited on her with a bouquet of flowers, or basket of strawberries, a compliment she rarely failed to reward by a tip—giving him five shillings or so.[1]

[1] Madden's *Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary*, pp. 44, 45, 119, &c.

Besides the flower gardens on the south side of the palace, Henry VIII. had kitchen gardens and two orchards,[1] where he built several banqueting houses, arbours, and bowers, the domelike roofs of which may be just espied in Wynegaarde's view of the north of the palace.

The two orchards[2]—the Great Orchard and the King's Privy Orchard—were separated by the moat, access between them being had by a drawbridge, which was plentifully decorated, like the "Arched Brydge over the moate coming to the Gate of the Base Courtt," and "the draw-bridge coming owt of the King's New Garden into the Park," with the inevitable "King's beasts."

All these additions, which we have been describing, to the grandeur and convenience of Hampton Court, rendered it a place of great attraction for foreigners visiting England, who, coming to see it as one of the sights of the country, were amazed at its immense size and dazzling splendour. The learned Grotius even thought it a theme to be commemorated in verse:

> Si quis opes nescit (sed quis tamen ille) Britannus
> Hampton Curia, tuos consultat ille Lares;
> Contulerit toto cum sparsa palatia mundo,
> Dicet, Ibi Reges, his habitare Dios.

which has been thus translated:

> If any Briton, what is wealth don't know,
> To Hampton Court let him directly go;
> When he all Palaces hath viewèd well,
> He'll say, "There kings, but here the Gods do dwell."[3]

[1] Now represented by the "Wilderness," and the gardens called the "Old Melon Ground," at present leased to Mr. Jackson.

[2] The word "orchard," it should be remembered, formerly signified plantations of any trees, and was by no means confined to those of apples and pears.

[3] Cox's *Magna Britannia*, vol. iii., p. 9, ed. 1724.

In Latin, too, its charms were celebrated by Leland in his "Marriage of Thames and Isis":—

> Alluit Hamptonam, celebris quæ laxior urbis
> Mentitus formam spatiis: hanc condidit aulam
> Purpureus pater ille gravis, gravis ille sacerdos
> Wolsæus, fortunam favos cui felle repletos
> Obtulit; heu tandem fortunæ dona, dolores.
>
> Then Thames to Hampton runs, whose stately space
> A city seems. The founder of the place
> Was mitred Wolsey, great ill-fated priest,
> For whom his fate prepared a honey'd feast
> Mingled with gall. Such were her treacherous gifts.

and in another poem:—

> Hic rex Henricus tales Octavius ædes
> Erexit, quales toto Sol aureus orbe
> Non vidit ——
>
> Here the eighth Henry such a palace rears,
> The sun ne'er saw its peer in all the spheres.

Its fame was carried even to Francis I., who inquired with interest of Wallop, the English ambassador at the Court of France, about the palaces of his brother of England:—"'Et Hampton Court,' quod He, 'est il sur la mesmes ryver aussy?' (referring to the Thames). I said 'ye, that they both stode uppon the same ryver with dyvers other goodly howses, namyng Richemounte for one, declaring to hym at length the magnificence of them all three, and specially of Hampton Court,' of which he was very desirous to here, and toke grete pleasure to commun with me thereon, shewing me he hard saye that Your Majestie did use much gilding in your said howses, and specially in the rowffes, and that he in his building used litle or none, but made the

rowffes of tymbre fyndly wrought with dyvers cullers of woode naturall, as ebony, brasell, and certain others that I cannot well name to your Majesty, which he reckoneth to be more rich than gilding and more durable." [1]

[1] *State Papers* (*Henry VIII.*), vol. viii., p. 523, Nov. 17th, 1540.

CHAPTER XVI.

ANNE OF CLEVES AND CATHERINE HOWARD.

The King's Parks—The Manor of Hampton Court erected into an Honour—The Chase, or New Forest, of Hampton Court—Complaints of the Inhabitants—Anne of Cleves—Henry VIII. marries Catherine Howard in the Palace—Their Honeymoon—The Astronomical Clock put up—Description of the Works and Dial—Henry VIII. and his Council—Henry's Professions of Affection for his Wife—Accusations against her—The King's Rage and Grief—She is arrested—Her Attempt to see him—Piteous Shrieks of her supposed Ghost in the Haunted Gallery—He leaves the Palace—Her Interview with Cranmer—Gives Way to Paroxysms of Grief—Removed to the Tower—Executed.

WHILE the King's new buildings and gardens were in process of being embellished and finished, further improvements were also undertaken in the Parks. According to what we have stated before,[1] the manor of Hampton Court was composed originally, as now, of two main divisions[2]—Bushey Park and the House or Home Park, lying respectively to the north and the south, and separated from each other by the Kingston road. But the King, at this period,

[1] Pages 4 and 20.

[2] Norden, writing in 1592, speaks of "two parks, one of them for deere, the other for hares, both invironed with walls of bricke, the south side of the deere park excepted, which is paled and invironed with the Thamise."—*Description of Middlesex*, p. 26.

caused them to be subdivided by brick walls into smaller enclosures. Thus, Bushey Park was partitioned into three parts of nearly equal size: the Hare-Warren to the east, the Upper Park to the extreme west, and the Middle Park lying between the two others; while the House Park was bisected into "The Course," next to the Kingston road, and the House Park proper, bounded on the south by the river.[1]

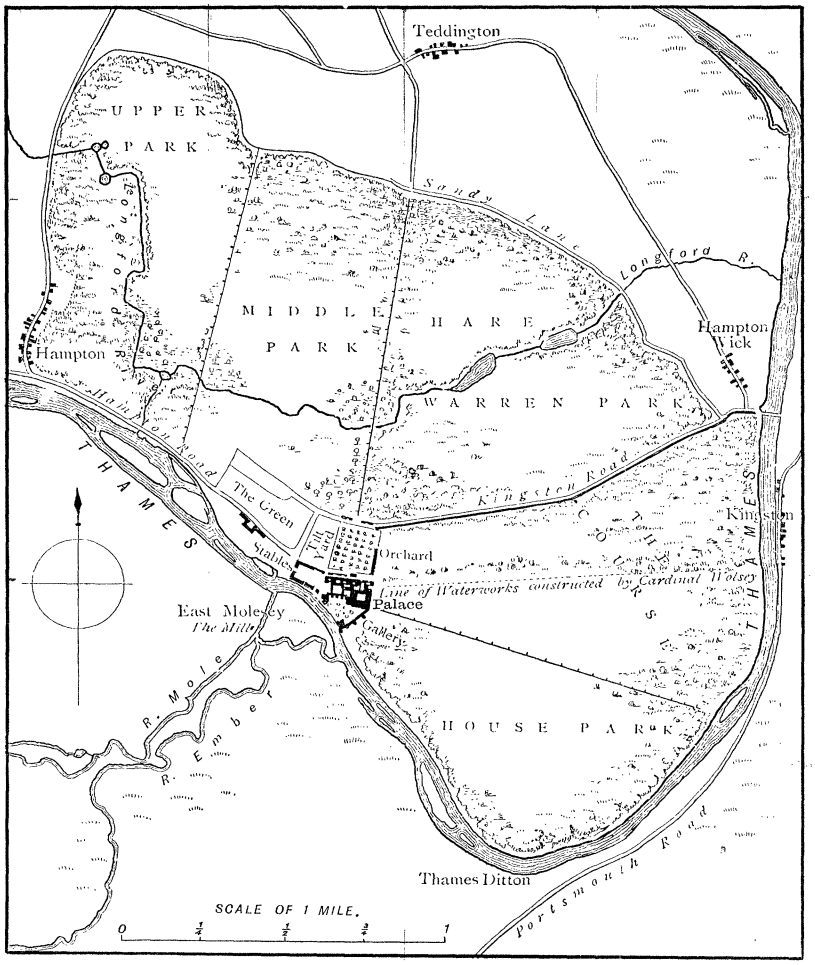
But these enclosures, though all well stocked with game, and well adapted for coursing or shooting, offered little convenience for the King's favourite sport of stag-hunting, which, now that he was getting old and fat, he wished to enjoy close at hand, without having to incur the fatigue of going to Windsor Forest. With a view, therefore, of forming an extensive hunting-ground immediately adjacent to the palace, the King proceeded to acquire by purchase or exchange all the manors near Hampton Court, on both sides of the River Thames,[2] and, by an Act of Parliament passed in 1539, erected them into an Honour, that is, a seigniory of several manors held under one Baron or Lord Paramount —a clause enacting that "the manor of Hampton Court should henceforth be the chief capital place and part of the said Honour."[3]

[1] Particulars as to this are to be found in the *Chapter House Papers*, C $\frac{6}{16}$, folios 226, &c.; and see Appendix F, No. VII. One of the dividing walls is shown in Wynegaarde's drawing of the north view of the palace, of which drawing the central portion is engraved at page 206. See also the *Parliamentary Survey of Hampton Court in* 1653, which will be printed in our subsequent volume.

[2] Esher was obtained by a "gift" from Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who, on being informed that the King "took pleasure in it," and "would make a chase about it," had, of course, no option but to hand it over.—*State Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. viii., pp. 2 and 3. Queen Mary afterwards made restitution of it to Gardiner. See *ante*, p. 34.

At the same time, or soon after, Henry VIII. got into his hands the rectories of Hampton, Isleworth, Twickenham, and of other neighbouring places.

[3] *Statutes of the Realm*, 31 Henry VIII., vol. iii., chap. v.



Map of the Domain and Parks of Hampton Court.

The manors comprised in the Honour of Hampton Court are those of Hampton, Hanworth, Kempton,[1] Feltham, and Teddington in Middlesex; and Walton-on-Thames, Walton Legh, Weybridge, Sandown, Byfleet, Weston, Imworth, Esher, Oatlands, East Molesey, and West Molesey, in Surrey. It should be observed that the Honour of Hampton Court was one of a peculiar kind, which we might call statutory, as opposed to a genuine feudal Honour;[2] and which (like those of Grafton, Donnington, Westminster, Kingston-on-Hull, and Ampthill) was created by Henry VIII. by Act of Parliament, apparently to invest it with more splendour and dignity.[3]

That this was the case appears from the preamble of the Act, which recites: "Forasmuch as it hath pleased the King, our most excellent and most dread Sovereign Lord, of late to erect, build and make a goodly, beautiful and princely manor, decent and convenient for a King; and the same hath ornated with Parks, Gardens, Orchards and other things of great commodity and pleasure thereunto adjoining, meet and pertinent to his Royal Majesty, most requisite for the prosperous continuance of his most Royal person, which the subjects of this Realm most entirely, above all earthly things, chiefly desire"—so he hath resolved to erect it into an "Honour."[4]

[1] Otherwise called Kennington or Cold Kennington.

[2] Honours seem to have arisen through the King's greater barons, who had large extents of territory held under the Crown, granting out smaller manors to inferior persons to be held of themselves.—Comyn's *Digest*, vol. iv., tit. "Honour," where the names of eighty honours in England are given; but curiously enough Hampton Court is omitted in the text, though inserted by the editor in a note.

[3] Madox, *Baronia Anglica*, p. 8.

[4] The Act that created the Honour of Ampthill, two years after, expressly declares: "It seemeth, therefore, very behovefull, expedient, and requisite, that not alonely ... but also ought to be ornated and set forth with the name and title of an Honour, thereby insinuating and declaring that the thing shall be no lesse honourable and princely in rich and faire possessions, than stately and commodious as well in things of pleasure, as in sumptuous

The next thing was to enact, by the same statute, that a great part of the extensive tract of country comprised within the boundaries of the Honour,[1]—namely, the "lordships, manors, towns and villages of East Molesey, West Molesey, Walton, Esher, Weybridge, and part of Cobham, and other parishes," apparently Byfleet, Thames Ditton, Wisely, Chersham and Shepperton, which are all on the Surrey side of the river—should be marked out and enclosed within a wooden paling, created a New Forest or Chase, to be called "Hampton Court Chase," "for the nourishing, generation, and feeding of beasts of venery and fowls of warren," and reserved for the King's sport.[2] It was likewise provided that all the same liberties, jurisdictions, privileges and laws and officers necessary for the punishment of offenders, that appertained to any ancient forest in the kingdom, should also belong to this.[3]

It is not to be wondered at, that all this became the cause of much complaint from the inhabitants of those places—"their commons, meadows, and pastures being taken in, and the same parishes all overlayed with deer, and very many households being let fall in, the families decayed and the King's liege people much diminished and the country thereabouts in manner made desolate."[4] Not that they dared to make their grievances heard while "old Harry" was alive; on the contrary, his "loving subjects were content for the

and costly buildings."—Madox, *Baronia Anglica, ubi supra.*

[1] It has been usually stated that the Chase was coterminous with the Honour; but this was not the case, for the Chase did not extend over any part of Middlesex.

[2] Among the Loseley manuscripts are "six accounts of money paid to palers, and other work done in the King's new Chase at Hampton Court."—*7th Report of the Historical Commission.*

[3] Hampton Court Chase is the newest forest in England.—Manwood's *Forest Laws*, ed. 1665. Some of the rights of the copyholders and tenants, however, were reserved by an agreement between them and the King, which is set out in the Act.

[4] From a Council Book of Edward VI.—Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, p. 53.

comfort and ease of his Majesty to suffer" in silence. But at once on the accession of Edward VI. they petitioned the Council for redress. Their prayer was favourably listened to, and orders were given forthwith that the deer should be removed and the paling taken down—the Council explaining that this royal hunting-ground had been made at a time when "His Highness waxed heavy with sickness, age and corpulency of body, and might not travel so readily abroad, but was constrained to seek to have his game and pleasure ready at hand." They were careful, however, to put in the proviso, "That if it shall please his Majesty to use the same as a chase again," the order was not to be taken in prejudice to the Sovereign. Consequently the district, though in fact dechased, is still technically a Royal Chase, and the paramount authority over all game within its limits is vested in the Crown, represented by an officer styled the Lieutenant and Keeper of Her Majesty's Chase of Hampton Court.[1] The office, though at present vacant, is always held with that of Chief Steward of the Honour and Manor of Hampton Court, and Feodary of the Honour.[2] The first to hold the appointment was Sir Anthony Browne;[3] and among his many successors are found the names of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, James, Marquis of Hamilton, General

[1] The fee of the office of Lieutenant and Keeper of the Chase is £10 per annum. The tenour of the patent of his appointment grants him also the office and keeping of the game of hare, partridge, pheasant, and heron, and all other wild fowl of the river, as well within her Majesty's own grounds and woods, as in other men's grounds and woods, whatsoever they be, in and about the Honour of Hampton Court and Hounslow, within the County of Middlesex (that is to say) from Staines Bridge to Brentford Bridge, with the fee of two shillings by the day, and also twenty-six shillings and eightpence for a livery yearly.—Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, p. 56, n.

[2] The fee of the Chief Steward of the Honour is £6 13*s.* 7*d.*; that of the Feodary of the Honour, £3 6*s.* 8*d.*

[3] Mr. Thos. Heneage had been appointed Steward and Bailiff of the Manor and of the town of Hampton, also Keeper of the Parks and Warrener of the Warren, with £3 13*s.* 4*d.* a year, in 1530.—Brewer's *Calendars of State Papers* (*Henry VIII.*), vol. iv., No. 6248 (22).

Monk, and in 1797 His Royal Highness William, Duke of Clarence.[1] With these offices were also frequently held the Rangerships of the Bushey Park, the Middle Park, and the Hare-Warren Park, as well as the palerships and moverships of the same.[2] These appointments are likewise for the present in abeyance. The Rangership of Hampton Court Park, that is, the "House," or, as it is more often, but inaccurately called, the "Home" Park, has usually been held by a different person, the last having been the Duke of Gloucester.

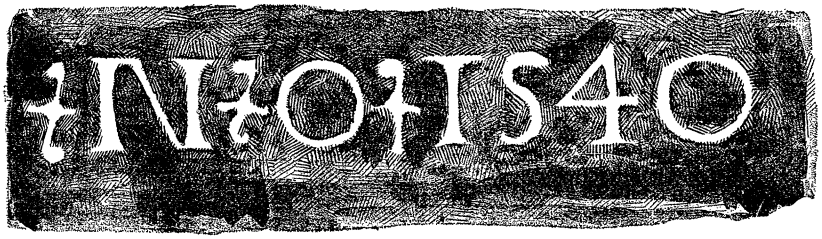
Henry VIII. and his fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, do not appear to have ever resided together at Hampton Court as man and wife;[3] but the King was here towards the end of November, 1539, expecting definite and certain news of her arrival in England;[4] and the lady herself spent a few days here, while waiting with complete composure for the decree of divorce, which was pronounced in the month of July, 1540.

After that she moved to Richmond; and, as soon as she had gone, Henry arrived to pass his honeymoon with Catherine Howard. No record is extant of any marriage between them;[5] but if Henry, to soothe the conscience of the lady, waited for any such ceremony, it must have taken place at Hampton Court, about the 8th of August, on which day she was openly shown as Queen, and sat next to the King in the royal closet in the chapel.[6] She afterwards dined in public at a grand banquet, where the Princess

[1] Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes*, p. 57.
[2] Do., p. 74.
[3] A piece of gossip, however, was bruited about in the autumn of 1541, that the Lady Anne of Cleves had been delivered of a fair boy, "and whose should it be but the King's Majesty, and begotten when she was at Hampton Court," meaning when she was on a visit there to Henry VIII. after his marriage with Catherine Howard.—*State Papers*, vol. i., p. 697.
[4] *State Papers*, vol. iii., No. 195.
[5] The license was probably destroyed intentionally after Catherine's execution.
[6] Stowe's *Annals*, ed. 1631, folio 581; Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, p. 122.

Elizabeth sat by her side. These bare facts are all the incidents to be chronicled of the marriage and honeymoon of Henry VIII. and Catherine Howard.

But, during the period of their sojourn here this summer, the curious astronomical clock, still to be seen on the tower in the Clock Court, was being put up; and we may suppose that it excited the interest and curiosity of the new-married pair. It is fixed in the uppermost storey of the tower, filling nearly the whole space between the two turrets; and as we



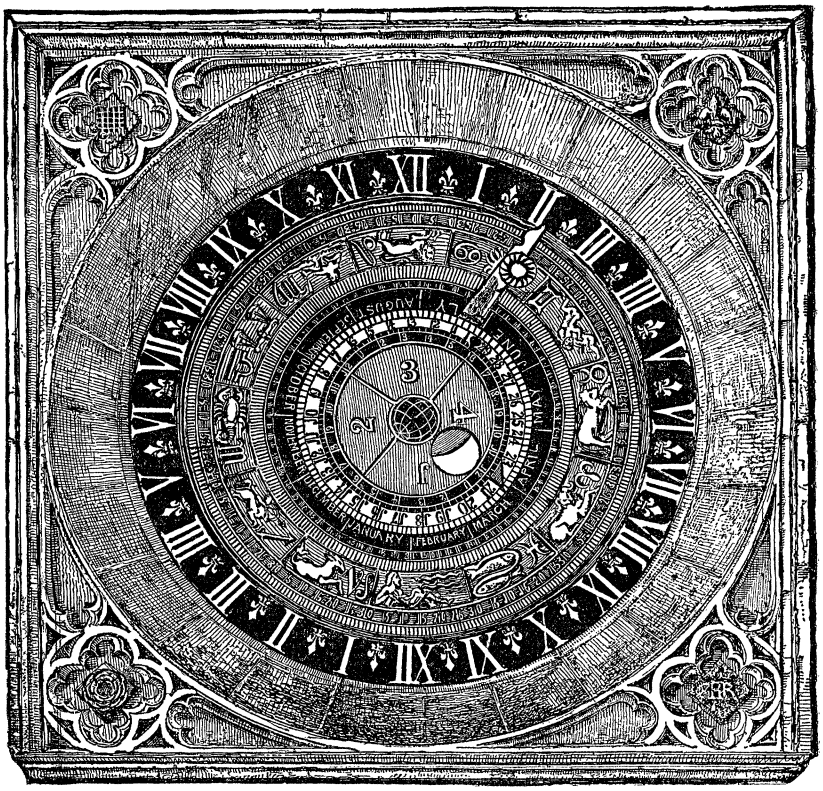
Inscription on a Bar of the Dial of the Astronomical Clock.

look up at it, we are at once impressed with the applicability of the lines in Spenser's "Faerie Queene:"—

> High lifted up were many lofty towers
> And goodly galleries far over-layed,
> Full of fair windows and delightful bowers;
> And on the top a dial told the timely hours.

The time of its erection is proved by an old inscription of the date 1540, together with the initials N. O., stamped on an iron bar on the inside of the dial. Who the designer may have been has long puzzled antiquarians; and a careful search among the old records and State Papers has failed to reveal to us any artist or workman whose name would answer to these initials.

But whoever was the maker of the machinery, we may be pretty sure that the inventor must have been Nicholas



The Astronomical Clock.

Cratzer, a famous German astronomer, who came over to England on the invitation of Wolsey, and who was introduced by him to Henry VIII.[1] At any rate, he was the

[1] Ellis' *Original Letters*, third series, vol. i., p. 230. One of his works, *De*

only man in England capable of designing such an elaborate piece of mechanism, and, as he was receiving a salary in the King's service at that time, and was the maker of a similar clock at Christ Church, the conjecture is very likely correct.[1]

The old clock is interesting in several points. The clock-face or dial is set in a frame of stone, about fifteen feet square, which is carved in the angles with Tudor tracery and Henry VIII.'s badges and initials, and which has two sets of twenty-four hours painted on its inner rim. The dial itself consists of three separate copper discs, of different sizes, lying one over the other, with a common centre, but revolving at different rates. At the centre of the inner disc is a slightly projecting globe, representing the earth; and the larger portion of the rest of this disc is divided into four parts, representing the quarters of the moon; while the phases of the moon are also shown more obviously on a small subsidiary disc, which revolves behind in such a way as always to exhibit, through a circular hole, the varying appearance of the moon's sphere. On the third or outer disc, which is about eight feet in diameter, are painted the names of the twelve months, the days of the month, the signs of the zodiac, and, on the outermost rim, a circle sub-divided into 365 parts for the days of the year. Over these indices and symbols of time the long pointer, which projects from the second disc and carries a gilded representation of the sun, travels in the year; and from its position at any time, together with those of two smaller pointers attached to the two inner discs, it is easy to ascertain—when once the dial is understood—the hour, the month, the day of the month,

Compositione Horologiorum, still remains in the Library of Corpus Christi College, bound up with others of his scientific works.

[1] It has been suggested that in the uncial and rude characters of the inscription the O may in reality have been laid down for a C; but this is not borne out by its appearance.—*Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii., pp. 13 and 20.

the position of the sun in the ecliptic, the number of days since the beginning of the year, the phase of the moon, its age in days, the hour of the day at which it souths (that is, crosses the meridian), and thence the time of high-water at London Bridge.[1]

The clock having been designed before the discoveries of Copernicus and Galileo, the sun, it will be observed, is made to revolve round the earth, and the original internal works must have been of a very defective nature. For this reason, we suppose, it was that, about forty years ago, the dial, after having ceased to work many years before, was removed and stowed away in an old out-house.

About four years ago, however, it was brought forth, restored, the works adapted to our more accurate scientific knowledge, and the dial made to revolve again once more,[2] so that it is no longer open to the reproach once addressed to it by the poet :—

> Memento of the gone-by hours,
> Dost thou recall alone the past?
> Why stand'st thou silent 'midst these towers,
> While Time flies still so fast?

Soon after this Henry and Catherine Howard went on

[1] A full description and explanation of the mechanism is given in the author's *New Guide to Hampton Court*, and a further account will be given in the next and concluding volume of this History. The decorations were not always what they now are, for there is record of a payment made in 1575, "to George Gower, serjeaunte painter, for painting the great diall at Hampton Court, containing the howres of the day and night, the course of the sonne and mone, the xij. signes with the caracters of the vij planetes, environed into a circle, the sea, shippes and territories, and on the other side certain badges of the croune, all wrought in oil colours as vermilion, &c., and guilded with fine goulde; for clensinge the sconde diall cont^{s}. the howers of the daie, half-howers and q'rters, and in divers places her Mat^{s}. tris of name, and sondrie her Mat^{s}. badges, wrought likewise in oyle colours and guilded with fine goulde."

[2] This interesting restoration is one of the many which Hampton Court owes to the appreciative zeal of the Secretary of Her Majesty's Board of Works, Mr. A. B. Mitford, C.B.



Henry VIII. and his Council. (From a contemporary Drawing.)

an extended wedding tour, visiting, among other places, Reading, Grafton, Buckingham, Ampthill, and More Park, and returned to Hampton Court on the 19th of December.[1]

[1] *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vol. vii., p. 93.

Though they had, by that time, been married five months, Henry was still so much in love with her that he would not have their seclusion interfered with. They accordingly spent the following four or five months in retirement at this palace,[1] where the Privy Council, with the King presiding, met almost daily for the transaction of the business of the nation. Here, also, they came back after a short summer progress, on the 24th of October, 1541.

So far the married life of Catherine Howard had been passed smoothly enough, and she might be considered happy, if such a word could be applied to a wife of Henry VIII. His affection for her appeared to grow deeper every day, and it seemed as though he had at length found a consort who suited him. The day after their return to the palace, Henry heard mass in the chapel, and "receiving his Maker, gave Him most hearty thanks for the good life he led and trusted to lead with his wife; and also desired the Bishop of Lincoln, his ghostly father, to make like prayer, and give like thanks with him on All Souls' Day."[2] But in the meanwhile Catherine's enemies had been at work, and the blow they were preparing was ready to fall upon her unsuspecting head. Henry was already seated at chapel, hearing mass, when the insidious Cranmer came up to him, and, unobserved, slipped into his hand the paper containing the damning disclosures against the chastity of his Queen.[3]

It is always difficult to trace the objects, or to gauge the motives of any action of Henry VIII.'s, for under his bluff geniality of manner, there was a craftiness and subtlety, inherited from his father and his Yorkist ancestors, which would have done credit to Philip II. It is possible, there-

[1] *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vol. vii., pp. 93-150.
[2] *Do.*, vol. vii., p. 352.
[3] *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vol. vii., pp. 352, 353.

fore, that, notwithstanding all his protestations, he gladly seized on the accusations made against Catherine as a means of delivering himself from a tie that had already grown irksome to him. However this may be, on being first informed of them, he at least affected to be quite incapable of believing them,[1] and when in the short investigation that he immediately instituted, the early misconduct of the Queen was proved to him beyond all reasonable doubt, he was like a man pierced to the heart, appearing as distressed as he was undoubtedly mortified and enraged. After vainly struggling for utterance, his pride and firmness gave way, and he burst into a passion of tears.[2] The Queen was at once confined to her own room, and next morning the King rode away to the neighbouring palace of Oatlands, never to set eyes on her again.

But before his departure a scene is said to have occurred, which, as it belongs to the legendary lore of the old palace, may be mentioned here; though it would be indiscreet to inquire too particularly after the authorities for a story of this sort. The old mysterious "Haunted Gallery," the door of which is on the right hand as you go down the Queen's Great Staircase, has its name from being supposed to be haunted by the shrieking ghost of Queen Catherine Howard. It was here, at any rate, that she escaped from her own chamber, when confined in it before being sent to the Tower, and ran along to seek an interview with

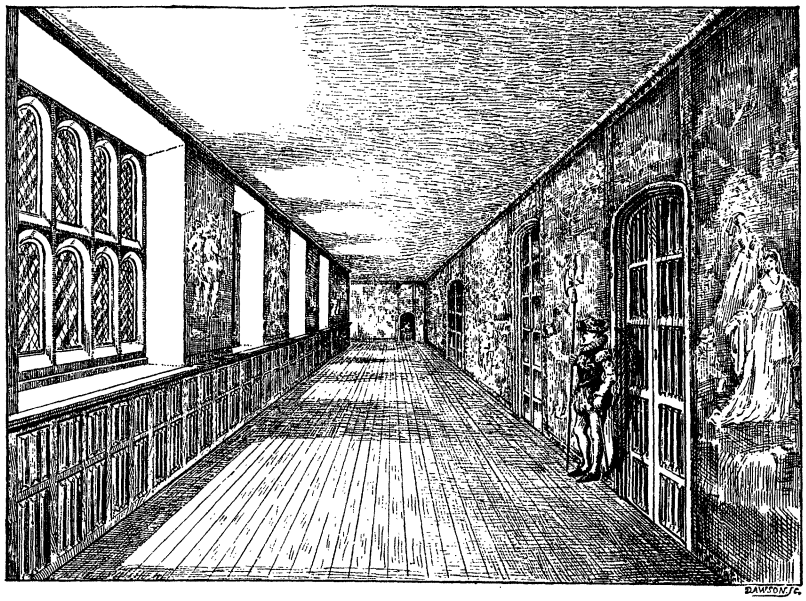
[1] The letter of the Council says :—"When the King had read this information thus delivered unto him, his Grace being much perplexed therewith, yet nevertheless so tenderly loved the woman, and had conceived such a constant opinion of her honesty, that he supposed it to be rather a forged matter than the truth."—*Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vol. vii., p. 354.

[2] *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vol. vii., p. 355 :—"His heart was so pierced with pensiveness, that long it was before his Majesty could speak and utter the sorrow of his heart unto us, and finally with plenty of tears (which was strange in his courage), opened the same."

Henry VIII., who was hearing mass in the royal closet in the chapel. Just, however, as she reached the door, the guards rudely seized her, and carried her back; while her ruthless husband, in spite of her piercing screams, which were heard almost all over the palace, continued his devotions unmoved. And in this gallery, it is said, a female form, dressed in white, has been seen coming towards the door of the royal pew, and just as she reaches it, has been observed to hurry back with disordered garments and a ghastly look of despair, uttering at the same time the most unearthly shrieks, till she passes through the door at the end of the gallery. The gallery is now the lumber-room for old pictures, and, as the staircase is locked up at night, the voice of the shrieking Queen is said to be but rarely heard.

Nevertheless, we are enabled to adduce some recent and very convincing evidence on the matter. The testimony is, in the first place, that of Mrs. Cavendish Boyle, a lady who lives in an apartment adjacent to the "Haunted Gallery," and who records that once, in the middle of the night, some years gone by, she was suddenly startled out of a profound sleep, by a loud and most unearthly shriek, proceeding from that quarter, followed immediately by perfect stillness. Though quite unable to account for the occurrence on any natural hypothesis, she did not mention it to anyone at the time, not wishing to cause alarm, or lend encouragement to the idea of the palace being haunted. But when, a year or two after, her friend, Lady Eastlake,[1] who had stayed with her several times at Hampton Court, divulged the fact that some time before, during one of her earlier visits, she had heard a piercing shriek in the same place, and also in the dead of night, but that she had then thought it best to keep

[1] Both Mrs. Boyle and Lady Eastlake have sent me written statements, and given me permission to mention their names.



The Haunted Gallery.

it to herself, it seemed that the old legend received a confirmation startling enough to make it worthy of record.

When Henry had left the palace, several members of the Council came to her, informed her of the specific accusations made, and solemnly charged her with high treason. While in their presence the unhappy Queen maintained a bold front, and vehemently denied all;[1] but when they left her to realize alone the awful position in which she stood, her heart failed her, and she burst into an agony of passionate grief. Cranmer, who afterwards privately repaired to her, by the King's direction, to communicate his pleasure with regard to her, "found her," he says, in a letter to Henry, "in such lamentation and hevynes, as I never sawe no creature, so that it woulde have pityed any mannes harte in the worlde, to have loked opon her."[2] At one time her paroxysms were so intense that he feared for her reason, and even her life, and was obliged to leave her for awhile with her waiting-women, without attempting to discharge his commission. When he returned, he found her still in the same distress, but tried to calm her by assuring her of the King's benignity and mercy, craftily suggesting that if she would only confess her fault, the royal pardon should be extended to her.

At this "she held up her handes, and gave most humble thankes unto your Majestie, who had shewed unto her more grace and mercie, than she herself thought mete to sue for, or cowde have hoped of. And then, for a tyme, she beganne to be more temperate and quiete, savynge that she stil sobbed and wepte; but after a little pawsynge, she sodenly fel into a new rage, much worse than she was bifore." Cranmer succeeded at last in somewhat mitigating her agitation, and he then entered on a long conversation with

[1] *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vol. vii., p. 355.

[2] *State Papers* (*Henry VIII.*), vol. i., p. 689.

her, mainly directing his efforts to extort an acknowledgment from her that there had been a contract of marriage between herself and Derham, so that the King might have had his own marriage with her declared null and void. But though Catherine was induced to confess her improper relations with him, yet, with most unaccountable perversity, she would not admit the pre-contract, which alone could have afforded some means of escape from her fate. But she signed a confession, which Cranmer had prepared, of the main charges against her, as regarded her conduct before marriage. Their interview continued till six o'clock in the evening, when, hearing the clock strike, she again gave way to an outburst of grief, saying it was for "remembrance of the time; for about that hour Master Heneage was wont to bring her knowledge of the King." [1]

The clock, which recalled to her mind these happy reminiscences, was no doubt the same curious astronomical clock we described a page or two back.

A few days after this interview a letter came down to Cranmer from the Council in London, most of whom were Catherine's deadly enemies, enjoining him to summon "all the ladies, gentlewomen, and gentlemen in the palace, and declare to them the abominable demeanour of the Queen, with the whole of the King's Majesty's sorrowful behaviour, and careful proceeding in it, so that the world may know and see that which is hitherto done to have just cause and foundation." But they were now careful to add that no mention was to be made of the pre-contract, which might have served for her defence,[2] and which Cranmer, to his credit be it said, had laboured to establish, out of compassion for her, but which Henry would not hear of as an excuse. The declaration of the Queen's misbehaviour was made in the

[1] *State Papers (Henry VIII.)*, vol. i., p. 690.

[2] *State Papers (Henry VIII.)*, vol. i., p. 693.

Great Watching Chamber, and all her household were discharged there and then.[1]

In the meanwhile, lest the admission she had made should fail to secure her ruin, they were secretly preparing to prefer a charge of adultery against her, though they knew that it could not be maintained except by the grossest perjury. From Hampton Court she was removed soon after this under an escort to Sion House, whence in a few weeks she was led to the Tower and the scaffold.

[1] Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, vol. i., p. 130.

CHAPTER XVII.

CATHERINE PARR AND HENRY VIII.'S DECLINING YEARS.

Henry VIII. entertains the Imperial Ambassador at Hampton Court—Jealousy of the French—Marriage of Henry VIII. and Catherine Parr in the Queen's Closet—Christmas at the Palace—Chapter of the Order of the Garter—The Earl of Surrey and the Fair Geraldine—Reception of the Viceroy of Sicily—The War with France—Catherine Parr and her Stepchildren—The King's increasing Infirmities—His domestic Life at the Palace—Great Picture of himself and his Family—Internal Decoration and Furniture of the King's Rooms—Tapestries of the "History of Abraham"—Grand Reception of Monsieur Deneball, Lord High Admiral of France—Henry VIII.'s Health declines—His Death.

THE many misfortunes in Henry VIII.'s matrimonial career that were associated with Hampton Court, did not deter him from returning there again soon after Catherine Howard's execution. We find he was at the palace, for instance, entertaining the Imperial ambassador, in the summer of 1542,[1] a time when the probability of an alliance between England and Charles V. was giving rise to considerable uneasiness at the French Court. Paget, the English ambassador in France, after retailing, in a despatch to Henry VIII., a

[1] *State Papers* (*Henry VIII.*), vol. iii., p. 385, June 2nd, and vol. ix., p. 65, June 26th.

number of rumours that were flying about in that country, bearing on this matter, proceeds to report a conversation he had with one of the French ministers:[1]—"'It is a marvellous thing' (quod I) 'to hear these news; in England there is no word of it. I would have you shew me but one token either of war with you, or of more amity with the Emperor than is wont to be.' 'In good faith' (quod he) 'I hear nothing out of England, but that all things be in a good quiet. The most I see' (quod he) 'is, that you make so much of the ambassador.' 'We make no more of him' (quod I) 'than we do of all other ambassadors, when they have to do with us. I am sure you know our fashions well enough of entertainment.' 'So I do' (quod he) 'your fashion is much to be commended, but yet you are not wont to lodge ambassadors often within the Court.' 'If there be no good town near, we do' (quod I) 'and Hampton Court you know, for you have been at it, is almost two miles from any town.'"

However, to demonstrate that no undue partiality had been shown to the Imperial ambassador, the Council, in acknowledging Paget's despatch, were directed by the King to tell him for the information of the French Court that "the ambassador of France here resident was at Esher with the King's Majesty on Thursday last, and passing his time with His Highness all the afternoon, had his lodging prepared for him at Hampton Court, where the Council and Household remained."[2]

It was at Hampton Court, also, that Henry VIII. passed his sixth honeymoon, having married Catherine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer, in the Queen's closet adjoining to the chapel, on July 12th, 1543, and proclaiming her Queen the

[1] *State Papers* (*Henry VIII.*), vol. ix., p. 78.

[2] *State Papers* (*Henry VIII.*), vol. ix., p. 89.

same day.[1] The ceremony was performed by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, under license from Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had dispensed with the publication of banns, and "all ordinances to the contrary, for reasons concerning the honour and advancement of the whole realm."[2] Only some twenty persons or so were present, among whom were the Princess Mary, to whom the new Queen made a present of £20,[3] and the Princess Elizabeth,[4] who, probably, was equally favoured.

The Christmas-tide following was likewise spent at Hampton Court; when, on the Sunday before Christmas Eve, the Queen's brother, Lord Parr, was created Earl of Essex, and Sir William Parr, her uncle, Lord Parr of Horton.[5] On Christmas Eve there were present at a grand vespers in the chapel, several Knights of the Garter, who, pursuant to the King's mandate, afterwards proceeded to hold a Chapter of the Order, at which "Sir John Wallop was made a member of the most glorious Society of the Order aforesaid, to the no small joy of all the knights present."[6]

The Earl of Surrey, who had been chosen a knight on St. George's Day in the previous year, was one of those who attended, and it must have been on this occasion, or another about the same time, at Hampton Court, that his heart first became enamoured of the "Fair Geraldine," as we are told in his famous sonnet giving the "Description and Praise of his Love":[7]—

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, folio 858.

[2] *Chronological Catalogue of Papers for the New Rymer*, p. 238.

[3] Madden's *Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary*, p. 91.

[4] *Notarial Certificate* in the Record Office, No. 400, cited by Miss Strickland.

[5] Hall's *Chronicle*, folio 859. The name of Lord Parr of Horton occurs in the list of Knights of the Garter attending the Chapter of the Order.

[6] Antis' *Register of the Order of the Garter*, vol. i., pp. 427-9, ed. 1724.

[7] Do., p. 423. The dates are incorrectly given in Dr. Nott's *Life of Surrey*, prefixed to his edition of his works, pp. lxxiv. and xlix., through a misapprehension of Henry VIII.'s regnal year.

Hunsdon did first present her to mine eyne:
Bright is her hue, and Geraldine she hight.
Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine;
And Windsor, alas! doth chase me from her sight.

In another poem, also, he seems to dwell on amorous reminiscences connected with the green courts of the palace:—

The large green courts where we were wont to hove (hover),
With eyes cast up into the maiden's tower.

And at the "Open Tennis Play," or "Lawn Tennis," as we call it now, the form of the fair Geraldine, who sat as a spectator on the leads above, often distracted his attention from the game, and made him nervous in his play:—

The palm-play, where, despoiled [1] for the game,
With dazed eyes oft we by gleams of love
Have missed the ball, and got sight of our dame,
To bait her eyes, which kept the leads above.

Surrey's association of Hampton Court with the far-famed object of his affections is likewise emphasized by Nash, the Elizabethan playwright, who makes him apostrophize the palace in the following rapturous strain:—"Oh! thrice imperial Hampton Court, Cupid's inchaunted castle, the place where I first sawe the perfect omnipotence of the Almighty expressed in mortalitie! There it was where I first set eie on my more than celestiall Geraldine. Seeing her, I admired her. Long sute and incessant protestations got me the grace to be entertained;" and so on.

How much, however, of these poetic ecstasies is to be taken literally remains a question, seeing that Surrey, who was now about twenty-five years of age, had been married

[1] *Despoiled* is the Italian *spogliato*, stripped for the game.

at eighteen to Lady Frances Vere, and that the "fair Geraldine," who is identified with Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, a lady of the Princess Mary's household,[1] and who came with her to Court this Christmas, was at this time only fourteen.

The portrait of Surrey which is now at Hampton Court, and which is attributed to Holbein, though probably by his imitator, Guillim Stretes, apparently dates from a period when he was a very young man. It is a valuable and highly interesting picture; especially in regard to the dress, which, except for the white shirt, embroidered with Moresque work, is entirely red, and with the flat red cap, red shoes ornamented with studs of gold, the richly chased dagger and sword, is an admirable example of the gorgeous style of costume prevalent at Court at the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII.[2]

In the week following the same Christmas, the King received in state "Ferdinando de Gonzaga, Viceroy of Sicily, Prince of Malfeta, Captain-General of the Chivalry and Army of the Emperor Charles," who—in pursuance of an offensive and defensive alliance,[3] "that had been sworn between the King and the Emperor at Hampton Court on Trinity Sunday, to be friends to their friends, and enemies to their enemies,"[4]—came to arrange when the Imperial forces should be ready to invade France, and renew the war which had begun in the foregoing summer. We may presume that the King received the Viceroy in the Great Hall, standing on the daïs under a canopy of cloth of gold, and leaning, as was his wont, against his gilt throne, on which lay a gold brocade

[1] Madden's *Privy Purse Expenses*, &c., p. 102.

[2] It is engraved on this account in Fairholt's *Costume*. See also *The Historical Catalogue*, p. 120.

[3] The alliance had been arranged in the early part of the year. Froude's *History*, vol. iv., p. 256.

[4] Hall's *Chronicle*, folio 857. See also Holinshed's *Chronicle*, vol. iii., p. 961, ed. 1809. In the edition of 1577, there is a rude woodcut of the reception, on folio 1591.



The Earl of Surrey. From the Picture at Hampton Court Palace, attributed to Holbein.

cushion with the sword of state.[1] Attending on him would be the Knights of the Garter in their robes, his ministers and great officers of state, a crowd of the nobility, and the

[1] Giustinian's *Despatches*, vol. i., pp. 78 and 85.

heralds in their tabards of gold; while three hundred halberdiers in silver breastplates, with pikes in their hands, lined the walls on both sides.

During the Viceroy's stay in the palace he was entertained very handsomely, the King treating him with every distinction, conferring with him as to the concerted measures to be taken against the common enemy, and giving him at his departure a present of two beautifully wrought specimens of goldsmith's work—a golden plate weighing 153 ounces, and a gilt plate weighing 4,000 ounces.[1]

In the following spring military operations, which had been suspended during the winter, were renewed with increased activity; and shortly after, Henry VIII. left Hampton Court to take command of the English army in person, crossing over to Boulogne on the 14th of July.

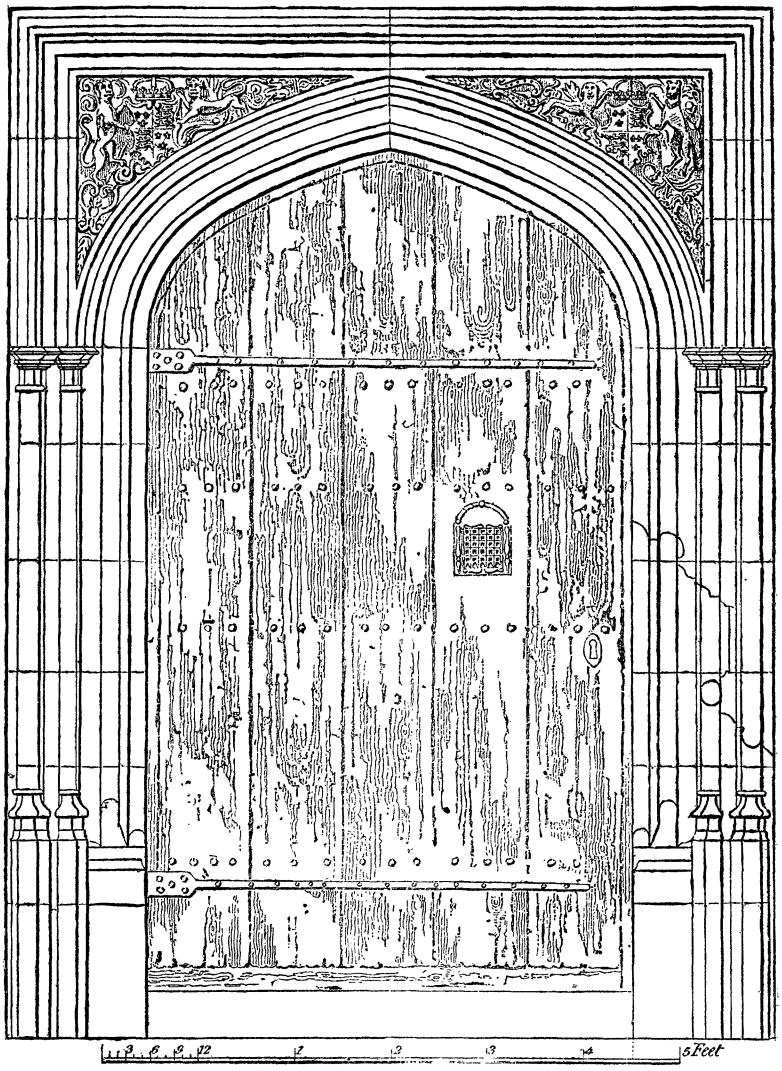
During the King's absence Catherine Parr remained with her three stepchildren at Hampton Court, whence, while his campaign abroad lasted, she kept up a continual correspondence with him, telling him how they got on at home:—

> My Lord Prince, and the rest of your Majesty's children are all, thanks be to God, in very good health; and thus, with my most humble commendations to your Majesty, I pray Almighty God have the same in his most blessed keeping. From your Majesty's honour of Hampton Court the last day of July, the 36th year of your Majesty's most noble reign.
>
> Your Grace's most humble loving wife and servant,
>
> CATHERINE THE QUEEN, K.P.[2]

Henry, however, was not absent from England long; and on his return, in the following October, he immediately rejoined the royal family at Hampton Court, where they continued to reside for some time.

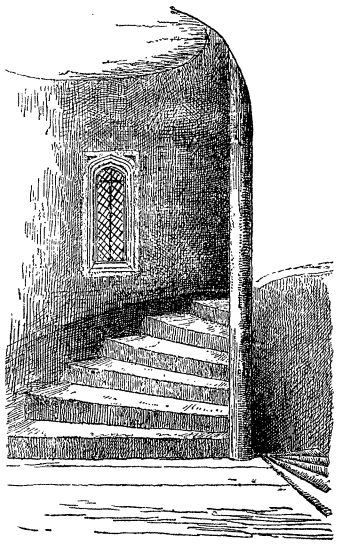
[1] Holinshed's *Chronicle, ubi supra.*

[2] *State Papers* (*Henry VIII.*), vol. x., pp. 13, &c.



Doorway, now covered by Tapestry, on the Daïs in the Great Hall leading to the Horn Room.

In fact, as Henry VIII.'s reign drew towards its close, and he increased in age and corpulence, he spent more and more of his time in the retirement of his river-side palace; where, now that his aggravated infirmities were gradually compelling him to give up all the more active sports, he could find plenty of agreeable indoor amusements. In the winter,



Henry VIII.'s Private Stairs, in the Clock Court, leading to his Privy Chamber.

especially, when the weather was too rough for him to walk in his garden, he could exercise his unwieldy frame with bowls or a quiet game of tennis, or by pacing up and down the vast cloisters and galleries of the palace, which, if placed on end, would have extended to a total continuous length of no less than a mile!

At the same time, as he came to lead a more retired and sedentary life, his old pastimes of backgammon, shovel-

board and cards, and his tastes for theology, literature, and music were great resources to him. In particular, he still continued to keep up his music; and if he gave up singing himself, there was nothing he delighted in more, in his later years, than accompanying the songs of his jester, Will Somers, on the lute. An interesting illustration of this is



Henry VIII. playing on the Lute; with his Jester, Will Somers, singing. From his illuminated Psalter, preserved in the British Museum.

the curious little picture painted in his own psalter, of which an engraving is here given.

Another reminiscence of Henry's domestic life at Hampton Court in his declining years is the fine picture of himself and his family, attributed to Holbein or one of his school, which now hangs in the Queen's Audience Chamber in this palace. In the centre, under a rich canopy, is seated the redoubtable monarch himself, resting his right hand on the

shoulder of his son Prince Edward, who stands by his side; while his wife, Catherine Parr, is seated demurely on his left-hand side. On either side stand his daughters Mary and Elizabeth;[1] and at the two ends of the picture are Will Somers and Jane the Fool, standing in the doorways, through which are seen the views of the King's old garden, engraved on an earlier page. The interest of this curious picture is much enhanced by the fact of the presence of both the King's daughters, testifying to the domestic harmony which the tact and prudence of Catherine Parr had brought into the discordant elements of Henry VIII.'s household.[2]

The accessories of this picture, likewise, are valuable as giving an insight into the sort of decoration and furniture with which Henry VIII. embellished the interior of Hampton Court. For though the background is probably intended for Whitehall, yet we know, from various sources, that the same gorgeousness and splendour distinguished all the King's palaces, and that in furniture, especially, Hampton Court surpassed them all. That this should have been so is not surprising, when we remember that the King found the palace filled with Cardinal Wolsey's magnificent collection, and that he continued, on coming into possession, to accumulate within its walls articles of every sort, down to the very last days of his life. The inventory of his effects,

[1] The Queen in this picture has been for years miscalled "Jane Seymour"—an absurd anachronism. Much confusion has also arisen by the portrait of Princess Mary having been labelled Princess Elizabeth, and *vice versâ*. That the figure on the left—which is half a head taller than the one on the right—is meant for Mary, is clear from her wearing a necklace with a cross, while the other Princess wears a jewel in the form of an A—the initial of Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn. The mistake was exposed by Mr. Scharf, Dr. Waagen having been misled by the label, and merely observing, "Princess Mary is here younger and prettier than her sister." See the author's *Historical Catalogue*, No. 340.

[2] Before the King crossed to Boulogne, he had an Act of Parliament passed—probably at the Queen's instigation—reinstating both Mary and Elizabeth in the succession to the Crown.

PRINCESS MARY. PRINCE EDWARD HENRY VIII CATHERINE PARR. PRINCESS ELIZABETH.



HENRY VIII. AND HIS FAMILY

which was taken after his death, and which is to be still seen in two enormous folio volumes in the British Museum,[1] contains countless entries of chairs and stools of carved ebony, oak and walnut, covered with cloth of gold, or with embroidered silks, satins, and velvets, fringed with silver, and pearled; of Turkey carpets, and table-covers; of bedsteads with superb ceilers and testors, and curtains of silks and satins of every hue; and of coffers, "standards," tables and cabinets, panelled and carved. To enumerate the



Tapestry of the Departure of Abraham.

rich hangings of silk and tapestry, that glittered on the walls of the King's State rooms, would be to fill pages.

One set, however, we may particularize, as being, perhaps, the finest that Henry possessed, and still to be seen at this day in the palace. We refer to the eight magnificent pieces[2] of Brussels tapestry, entitled "The History of Abraham," after designs by Bernard van Orlay, Raphael's pupil, which now decorate the walls of the Great Hall, and which for richness and splendour are scarcely to be matched in the world. Even in their present condition, with the

[1] *Harl. MSS.*, No. 1419.

[2] The set consists of ten pieces altogether; but two were removed from Hampton Court some years ago.

masses of gold thread dulled and tarnished, and their once lustrous silks worn and faded, they will repay the closest attention, and are alone worth a visit to Hampton Court. It must have been some such hangings as these, if not these very pieces, that Spenser had in his mind, in the stanza :—

> For round about the walls yclothed were
> With goodly arras of great majesty,
> Woven with gold and silke so close and nere,
> That the rich metal lurked privily,



Tapestry of the Separation of Abraham and Lot.

> As feigning to be hidd from envious eye;
> Yet here, and there, and everywhere, unwares
> It shewed itselfe and shone unwillingly;
> Like a discoloured snake, whose hidden snares
> Through the green grass his long bright-burnished back
> declares.

The outline sketches here given of two of the pieces will afford some idea of their artistic merit. The rich and elaborate borders, however, that enframe each tapestry, are too minute in design to be shown on so small a scale. They consist chiefly of figures emblematic of the motives and sentiments of the principal composition, of exceeding beauty and exquisite workmanship, with arabesque scroll-

work and foliage, intermediate between them, in the most ornate style of the Renaissance. They attain, in fact, to the highest pitch of excellence ever reached in this art; and how greatly they were esteemed in the olden times may be judged from the fact that they were valued, at the sale of Charles I.'s effects, at £8,000, when many of the masterpieces of Italian painting did not fetch a twentieth part of that sum, and Raphael's cartoons were knocked down for £300!

The palace, of course, was not wanting in specimens of the art of painting, and in the Long Gallery there were both portraits by Holbein, and sacred pictures by Italian and Flemish artists.[1]

The last event of any note at Hampton Court in Henry VIII.'s reign was the grand reception, in the summer of 1546, of the French ambassador, Monsieur Deneball, Lord High Admiral of France. He came to ratify the treaty of peace recently concluded between the two sovereigns, and was accompanied into England by a suite of two hundred gentlemen. After passing a night in London, he rode down with his followers, on Monday the 23rd of August, towards Hampton Court, at some distance from which he was met by Prince Edward, attended by the Archbishop of York, the Earls of Hertford and Huntingdon, and a retinue "of five hundred and forty in velvet coates; and the Prince's livery were with sleeves of cloth of gold, and half the coats embroidered also with gold; and there were the number of eight hundred royally apparelled."[2]

When the young Prince met the ambassador, he embraced him "in such courteous and honourable wise," says the old chronicler, "that all the beholders greatly rejoiced, and much marvelled at the said Prince's high wit and audacity,

[1] See *Historical Catalogue*, Introduction.

[2] Holinshed's *Chronicle*, vol. iii., p. 975; Fabyan's *Chronicle*, p. 708.

and so the French admiral came to the Court, giving the Prince the upper hand as they rode." At the outer gate he was received by the Lord Chancellor and all the King's Council, and then taken to the rooms prepared for him.

The next day the King admitted him to an audience, "welcomed him, and in great triumph went to the chapel, where the King received his oath to perform the articles of the league, as it was covenanted," the King and the ambassador solemnly breaking the sacred Host together over the compact. After that followed six days of "banqueting, huntings, and triumphings,[1] with noble masques and mummeries, with divers and sondry changes; insomuch that the torchbearers were clothed in cloth of gold, . . . and such like honourable entertainments, it were much to utter and hard to believe."[2] When the ambassador took his leave, the King made him a present of silver plate to the value of £1200.[3]

Soon after this, Henry VIII.'s health, which had long been very indifferent, began rapidly to decline. The ulcer in his leg, from which he had suffered for many years, had latterly grown worse and worse, and rendered him, in the last few months of his life, so helpless, that his enormous and unwieldy body could not be moved from one room in the palace to another without the aid of machinery.[4] This, combined with the frenzy of irritability in which his ailments kept him, and the suspicion and jealousy with which he regarded everyone who came near him, rendered the closing scenes of his career a terrible contrast to its bright beginning. Hampton Court, however, was not to wit-

[1] Tents, halls, pavilions, and timber houses were bought for the occasion, and erected in the Tilt Yard and Park. —*Archæologia*, vol. xviii., p. 329.

[2] Holinshed's and Fabyan's *Chronicles, ubi supra.*

[3] Holinshed's *Chronicle.*

[4] Lingard's *History*, vol. vi., chap. v.

ness his last hours, for he left the palace for London before the end of 1546, to die, on the 28th of January of the following year, at Westminster Palace, uttering with his last breath, according to one account, the awful words: "All is lost!"

CHAPTER XVIII.

EDWARD VI. AND THE PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

The Duke of Somerset and the War in Scotland—He is appointed Lord Protector of the Realm—Reduces the King to Insignificance—Treason of Lord Seymour of Sudley—Somerset's Power undermined—The Council retire to London and take Measures against him—Alarm of Somerset—Proclamation to the King's Loving Subjects to repair to Hampton Court and defend his Majesty—The Palace is Fortified—The King presented to the People—Somerset harangues the Crowd at the Gate—Flight of the Protector, with the King, to Windsor—He is arrested and sent to the Tower—Reinstated in the Council—King Edward receives the French Envoy—Invested with the Order of St. Michael—Proclamation of the Council against Covetousness—The French Ambassador attends the Reformed Service in the Chapel—Somerset's second Arrest and Execution—Mary of Guise visits Hampton Court.

THE first visit which Edward VI. made as sovereign to the place of his birth was in June, 1547, six months after his accession to the throne.[1] Up to that time the realm had enjoyed the peace and prosperity in which Henry VIII. had left it at his death, and there was then nothing to indicate that affairs were about to enter into that turbulent condition,

[1] The summer heats were tempered by green boughs placed in the windows by way of blinds. "Item paid to Nicholas Foscue, grome porter, for provision of grene bowes for the Kinges Majesties pryvie chamber and galleries at Hampton Courte, 32*s.*"—*Literary Remains of Edward VI.*, p. xcvi.



Edward VI. From the picture at Petworth.

from which they did not emerge till the accession of Elizabeth. Yet it is evident from a letter of the Duke of Somerset to be found among the State Papers, that during his stay at Hampton Court this summer, he had already resolved on the aggressive policy which was shortly afterwards put into execution.[1]

Until July it had been the common belief that England would aid the Scotch to repel the attack just made on them by the French, and thus cement an alliance which might result in the uniting of the crowns of England and Scotland, by the marriage of Edward VI. with Mary Stuart. But before the Castle of St. Andrews had surrendered to the French, and while the Scotch were still daily looking for English assistance, Somerset, on the 18th of February, issued instructions to Sir Ralph Vane to be at Newcastle with a force of as many men as he could raise to serve *against* the Scots. A few days after, he composed at Hampton Court the prayer which is printed by Mr. Froude in a note in his History, imploring the Divine aid in the contest.[2]

He set out himself shortly after for the North, leaving the King in the meanwhile at Hampton Court; and, in three months, he came back there,[3] covered with the glory and prestige of his victory at Pinkie Cleugh. This was the period of his greatest influence and power. In addition to the title of Lord Protector, his style was now to run "Edward, by the grace of God, Duke of Somerset, Protector of the Realm."[4] He was to sit on the right hand of his youthful sovereign on all occasions, not only in the Presence Chamber, but even in Parliament; and he contrived to put a stamp of permanence on all the acts of his adminis-

[1] *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. ii., No. 2, July 8th.

[2] *History of England*, vol. v., p. 47.

[3] On Oct. 7th. Wriothesley, *Chronicle* (Camden Society), vol. i., p. 186.

[4] Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii., p. 25.

tration by passing a bill materially limiting the prerogative, then vested in the sovereign, of repealing of his own accord, on attaining his majority, all acts passed during his minority.[1]

In the meanwhile Edward was not only reduced to a state of impotence and insignificance, but stript of even the commonest privileges and amusements, kept in a state almost of subjection, and surrounded with little of the external splendour of royalty. Fowler, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Edward VI., writes on the subject from this palace in July, 1548, to the Protector's brother, the Lord Admiral, Lord Seymour of Sudley, who was intriguing about this time to supplant his brother, and who to the Duke's great displeasure had recently married Catherine Parr. He tells the Admiral that the King is never left for half-an-hour alone, but that in such leisure as his Majesty had, he had written the small notes, surreptitiously scribbled on dirty little bits of paper, which he enclosed for him. The longer of the two is a request for money, and is as follows: "My Lord, send me for Latimer as much as ye think good, and deliver it to Fowler. Edward."[2]

The order he here refers to is for some money, which his uncle, Admiral Seymour, kept him secretly supplied with, telling him that he was kept by the Protector as "a very beggarly King having not to play or to geve to his servaunts," and "that he was too bashful in his own affairs, matters, and should speak to and bear rule like other kings."[3] These and similar expressions were afterwards construed into treasonable practices, and formed grounds of accusation against him when, in the following year, he was summoned

[1] Froude's *History*, vol. v., pp. 62, 65.

[2] *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. iv., No. 31. Printed in Tytler's *Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. i., p. 111.

[3] *Deposition of Edward VI.* Printed in *Literary Remains of Edward VI.*, vol. i., p. 58.

before the Council, attainted for high treason, and condemned to the block.

But the career of the proud Protector was to be short-lived, and when he consigned his brother to the scaffold, his own fate was already sealed. His magnificence and his wealth, and the extravagance that pervaded every branch of the administration, were beginning to excite the murmurs of the people, who contrasted them with the impoverished condition of the country and of its finances. Nor was the political aspect of affairs less threatening. The successes that marked the beginning of his administration had been slight and transient, the disasters that followed had, on the contrary, been prolonged and severe. Sir William Paget, one of his chief advisers, foresaw the abyss towards which he was hurrying, and implored him to be more cautious, and to take thought for the King, his wife and his children, and to put no more irons in the fire at once.[1] But he paid no heed to these warnings.

At last, as we learn from Holinshed, "many Lords of the Realm as well as Councillors, misliking the government of the Protector, began to withdraw themselves from Court, and resorting to London fell to secret consultation for redress of things."[2] This was towards the end of September, 1549. Somerset and his party, Cranmer, Sir John Thynne, his secretary, Cecil, Paget, and Petre in the meanwhile remained at Hampton Court.

It would seem that at the outset the Lords in London did not design any severe action against him, but intended rather to remonstrate with him for the shortcomings of his administration, and the failure of his enterprises, and to urge that the late King's will should be carried out, and that the executors whom he had nominated, should be appointed to act as guar-

[1] Strype's *Memorials*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 427, &c.

[2] Holinshed's *Chronicle*, vol. iii., p. 1014.

dians of the kingdom during the minority of the King. That these were the objects appears from a very temperate memorandum which they addressed to the Emperor Charles V. on the subject, assuring him that they could "no longer suffer his pride, unless they would in effect consent with him in his naughty doings; but they wished to avoid trouble and slander if they could by any means have brought him to reason."[1]

But the news of what was brewing in London being secretly conveyed to the Protector, and doubtless in an exaggerated form, filled him with vague alarm. He conjured up in his imagination that the Lords were not only seeking his overthrow, but perhaps plotting against his life. He accordingly drew up a commission, or proclamation, for the King's signature, in these terms:—

EDWARD.—The King's Majesty straightly chargeth and commandeth all his loving subjects with all haste to repair to His Highness at his Majesty's Manor of Hampton Court, in most defensible array, with harness and weapons, to defend his most royal person and his entirely beloved uncle the Lord Protector, against whom certain have attempted a most dangerous conspiracy. —And this to do in all possible haste. Given at Hampton Court the 5th day of October in the 3rd year of his most noble reign.[2]

Copies of this were sent out in all directions; and he despatched his son, Lord Edward Seymour, with letters in the King's name, to Lord Russell and Sir William Herbert (who were still in the West of England stamping out the last remaining embers of the insurrection), commanding them to hasten to the aid of the King and himself with all the troops they could muster.[3]

[1] Froude, vol. v., p. 230.

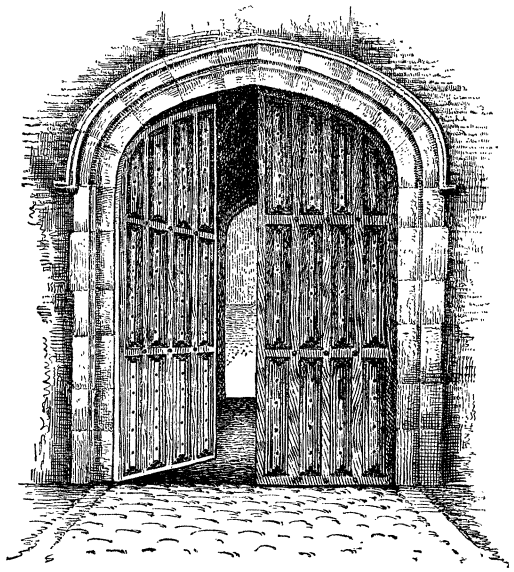
[2] Tytler, vol. i., p. 205. All the despatches and papers on this question are collected and compared in the *Literary Remains of Edward*, already referred to.

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, vol. ix., Nos. 1-9.



The Duke of Somerset.

At the same time printed handbills were disseminated among the lower classes in the neighbouring towns and villages, calling on them "in the name of God and King Edward, to rise to defend him and the Lord Protector against those who would depose the Lord Protector, and so endanger the King's royal person," and urging them to do



Doorway of the Great Gate-house.

so, because he was the friend of the people, and the enemy of those who injured the poor commons by extortion and oppression. To the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London he sent a command to despatch a thousand man to his assistance, and to the Lieutenant of the Tower to admit no member of the Council within the gates.[1]

[1] Tytler, vol. i., p. 210.

The next day, the 6th of October, preparations were made to put Hampton Court in a state of defence, and for once in its history the old palace assumed the aspect of a fortress.

The moat, which on ordinary occasions was allowed to run low, was hastily filled; the gates were fortified, and on the battlements and towers and turrets every preparation was made for sustaining a siege. All the morning the din and hurry of martial preparation resounded through the palace. Edward himself tells us, in his own diary, that five hundred suits of armour were brought down from the armoury, to arm the servants and other men attendant on the Protector and himself, so that with the soldiers and guards there was a goodly body of men for defence.[1]

But as the day wore on, the uneasiness of the Protector increased. No news, indeed, was brought of the approach of any hostile force; but Petre, whom he had despatched the day before to the Lords in London, "to know for what cause they gathered their powers together, and, if they meant to talk with him, that they should come in a peaceable manner,"[2] and to treat for an amicable arrangement, had not yet returned, and the delay began to excite serious suspicions in his mind.

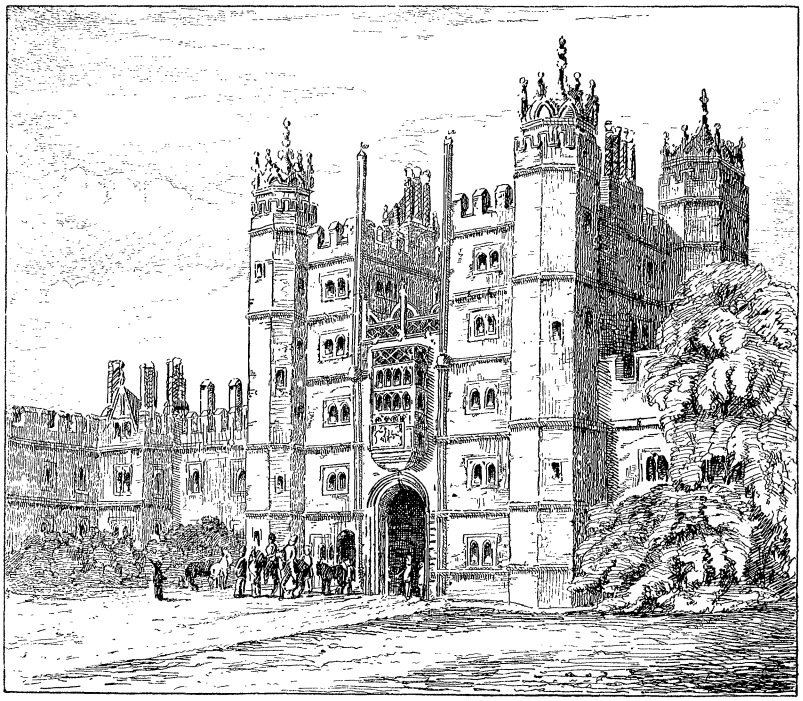
The summons of the criers whom he had sent out, and the proclamation he had circulated, had, it is true, been so far responded to, that a large crowd had collected in the outer Green Court (now called the Barrack Yard); but that they had come rather out of curiosity than sympathy, was evident enough.[3]

Besides, rumours had reached him, which were too precise to be altogether devoid of truth, that the members of

[1] Edward VI.'s *Journal.* Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 12.

[2] Edward's *Journal*, and Tytler, vol. i., p. 214.

[3] Froude's *History*, vol. v., p. 234; *Literary Remains*, &c., vol. i., p. cxxx.; and Tytler's *England under Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. i., p. 249.



The Great Gate-House, Restored.

the Council in London had seized the Tower, displaced his Lieutenant, and installed an officer of their own; and that his messenger had been forcibly detained.

There was evidently no time to lose : it would be hopeless to attempt to hold his own at Hampton Court unless he could count on the surrounding population. Perhaps the sight of their young King might animate them to loyal enthusiasm and produce the desired effect. Edward was, therefore, hurried from his lodgings, and though it was already dark, and he was suffering from a cold,[1] he was brought into the First, or Base Court, where the soldiers were drawn up in martial array. The scene must have been a striking one, as the young and feeble King and his uncle emerged through the archway of the Clock Tower, with Cranmer, Paget, Cecil, and others, preceded by the heralds sounding a march on their trumpets, while the flare of the torches gleamed on the armour of the guards, who greeted them with cheers. Arrived at the great gate-house, where the heavy oak doors had been rolled open, Somerset and the King advanced to the stone bridge over the moat in front of the gate.

The western and principal entrance to Hampton Court, as we have already seen, presented in those days a very different appearance to what it does now. The central gateway, now dwarfed to three storeys, was then a grand and imposing Tudor "gate-house," or square tower of five storeys in height, rising, with its four corner octagonal turrets, its smaller buttress-turrets, and its clusters of carved brick chimney-shafts, high above the adjacent ranges of buildings, the turrets being capped with "types," rich with crockets, finials, pinnacles, and gilded vanes. In front of the whole west front was the moat, some thirty feet wide, beyond

[1] "The Kinge's majesty is much troubled with a great rewme ; taken partly while riding hither in the night." —*Literary Remains*, vol. i., p. cxxxi.

which was the motley throng assembled in response to Somerset's proclamations.

History does not record what reception they gave their young sovereign when, at the bidding of his uncle, he addressed them, and said, "I pray you, be good to us and our uncle."[1] Somerset himself then harangued them, imploring them to defend him, and warning them that it was the King that was aimed at in the actions of the Council, and that if he fell he was determined not to fall alone, but that the King would fall also.

So piteous and selfish an appeal was little calculated to arouse the enthusiasm of his hearers. It was received in complete silence; and Somerset, mortified and apprehensive, went back into the palace to ponder on the situation he was in. If the people, whom he had summoned from the neighbourhood, whom he personally addressed, and who, be it remembered, were indebted to him for the dechasing of the Hampton Court Chase in the first year of King Edward's reign,[2] failed to give him even a responsive cheer, what hope was there that they would be ready to defend him against attack? and what chance that he would find supporters at a distance?

The only thing to do was to fly to a place of greater security. So, in an hour or two after, at nine or ten o'clock at night, in spite of the feeble condition of Edward, he hurried him away, with all his people and guards, to Windsor Castle.[3]

Five days after, he made an abject submission to his enemies, and was lodged a prisoner in the Tower; while Edward, who was probably not sorry to be released from his tutelage, returned to Hampton Court—or 'Ampton

[1] Letter of the Council "To my Lady Mary's Grace and my Lady Elizabeth's Grace," Oct. 9th.—Tytler, vol. i., p. 249.

[2] See page 215.

[3] *Literary Remains*, *ubi supra.*

Court, as he preferred to write it—to appoint Warwick, the Protector's deadly enemy, Lord Great Master and Lord High Admiral.[1]

But Hampton Court had not yet seen the last of Somerset; for, after an imprisonment of three months, he was re-instated in his seat in the Council, and restored to something of his former power and influence beside the King. We find him there again with Edward VI. in July, 1551, when the King had left London on account of the sweating sickness, to which one of the gentlemen of his household had fallen a victim.[2]

On the 11th of July, the day on which he left London, the Marshal St. André, the envoy of the King of France, who had been for some time expected, arrived at Gravesend with a retinue of four hundred gentlemen, and proceeded to Richmond. After spending the following day there, he went over early the next morning, the 14th, to visit Edward VI. He was received by the Duke of Somerset at the end of the park,[3] and escorted to the palace, where, after giving his credentials in audience with the young King, he went to his own chamber, on the Queen's side, which, says Edward, "was all hung with cloth of arras, and so was the Hall and all my lodging. He dined with me also. After dinner, being brought into an inner chamber, he told me he was come not only for delivery of the Order, but also for to declare the great friendship the King his master bore me; which he desired I would think to be such to me as a father beareth to his son, or brother to brother." The King answered in a similar strain, and they separated with mutual compliments.

[1] *Literary Remains*, p. cxxxi., and King Edward's *Journal* in ditto, p. 241. Edward did not like Windsor, complaining, "Methinks I am in a prison; here be no galleries or gardens to walk in."

[2] King Edward's *Journal*. *Literary Remains*, vol. ii., p. 330.

[3] Presumably near Kingston Bridge. Edward uses the expression, "At the wall-end."

The next day the ambassador visited him again, and solemnly initiated him into the Order of St. Michael in the chapel before the high altar, where Edward, standing in the middle, was invested in the robes of the Order by the Marshal and Monsieur de Gié, who stood on his right and left hand respectively. After the celebration of the communion, each of the envoys kissed his cheek ; and then they proceeded to the Great Hall, where a grand banquet was served, during which they engaged in a familiar conversation with the King, discussing the project of marriage between him and the Princess Elizabeth of France. The evening was brought to a close with revels and other pastimes, after which they returned to their lodgings in Richmond Palace.[1]

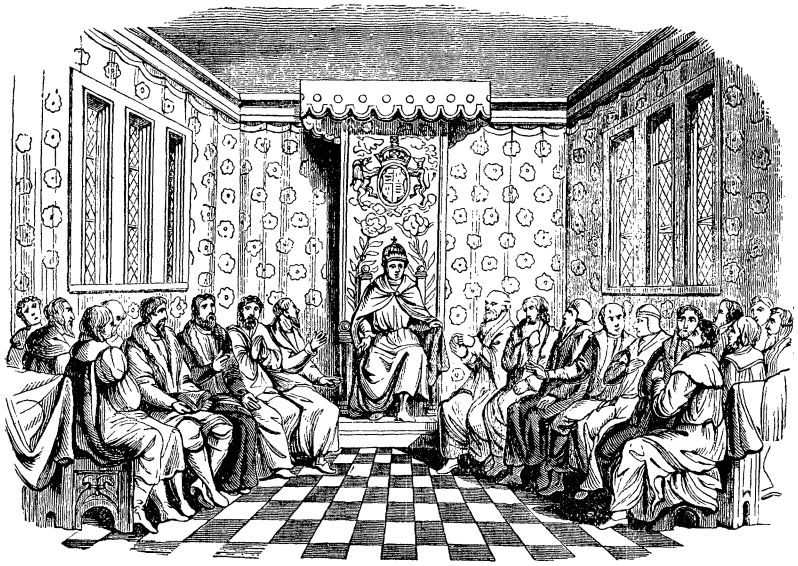
On the 20th they came to his levée—or, to use the old English term in his own diary, his "arraying"—in the State Bed-chamber, and then went out hunting with him, saw him shoot, dined with him, heard him play on the lute, saw him ride, had a chat with him in his study, supped with him, and then left. Their final visit was paid on the 26th, when he took a diamond ring worth £150 off his finger, and presented it to the marshal.[2]

This sojourn of the King's at Hampton Court is memorable for another event, the issuing, on July 18th, by the Council of the famous proclamation addressed to the bishops, inviting them and their flocks "to resort more diligently to common prayer than they had done, and especially to refrain their greedy appetites from that insatiable serpent, covetousness," and warning them that the sweating sickness had been sent as a punishment for their sins.[3] It is amusing to note the effrontery here exhibited by the very

[1] King Edward's *Journal.*
[2] Do.
[3] *State Papers, Domestic,* vol. xiii., No. 30. Edward's *Journal.* Tytler, vol. i., p. 404.

men who were daily helping themselves in the coffers of the State, and were characterized by the Protestant preacher, Thomas Lever, "as fishers of money instead of men." [1]

Heading the names attached to the proclamation is that of the Duke of Somerset, who was constantly present at the deliberations of the Council on affairs of state, and who,



Edward VI. and his Council. (From a Woodcut on the Title-page of The Statutes of 1551.)

while he was urging the people to be more diligent in prayer, had himself "become so cold in the hearing of God's Word, that he would not go from his gallery to his hall to hear a sermon." [2]

Meanwhile the result of the mission of the Marshal de St.

[1] Tytler, vol. i., p. 424. [2] Do.

André and Monsieur de Gié had been so successful that a permanent resident ambassador was appointed to the Court of England. He arrived early in the autumn, and on the 28th of September was invited to Hampton Court by the King. The following day, being the Feast of St. Michael, was celebrated by his Majesty out of compliment to the French King, with great splendour and solemnity. "This day," say the Council in a letter to Sir William Pickering, "the French ambassador was present in the chapel at the whole service of the communion, where he saw the King's Majesty reverently with us of his Council communicate the sacraments, wherein, as we perceive, he seeth and understandeth the great difference betwixt our reverence in our religion and the slanders thereof usually spread by evil men." [1]

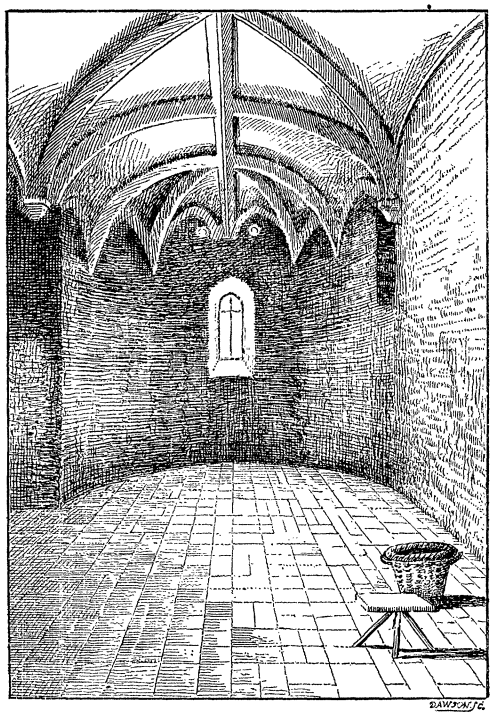
In the afternoon he dined with the King in his privy chamber, and afterwards at a meeting of the Council conferred "touching regulations to be made for the trade in wines between France and England, which would serve to the mutual advantage of these countries."

During the celebration of the festival of Michaelmas, the Duke of Somerset had been absent from Court because one of his servants had died of the sweating sickness. But on the day after Michaelmas, the Council addressed a letter, in which they begged him, as there was no longer any danger of infection, "to repair at his conveniente leisure to the Court." [2] This he did a few days after, little suspecting the treacherous conspiracy, that had in the meanwhile been set in train against him. He accordingly took his seat at the Council Board on the 4th of October, on which occasion the King announced his intention of raising Somerset's mortal enemy, Warwick, to the dignity of Duke

[1] *State Papers, Foreign*, vol. 1547-1553, No. 451.

[2] Tytler, vol. ii., p. 29.

of Northumberland, and of conferring the dukedom of Suffolk on the Marquis of Dorset; and, on the 11th of the same month, he had the mortification of witnessing, in the Great Hall of Hampton Court, the sumptuous ceremonies



The Prison, so called, in the Round Kitchen Court.

that attended these promotions in the peerage;[1] at which time also, Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire, was made Marquis of Winchester, Sir William Herbert Earl of Pembroke; while Mr.

[1] Tytler, vol. ii., p. 29, and *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. xiii., No. 56.

Cheek the King's tutor, and Mr. William Cecil, received the honour of knighthood.

But more crushing troubles were in store for him. On the 7th Sir Thomas Palmer had preferred in secret his charges against Somerset; and on the 13th the King was informed of them, and hastily removed to Westminster.

We will not inquire here into the truth of the accusations, nor into the fairness of the trial that followed. Suffice it to say that, after unsuspectingly attending the Councils at Hampton Court on October the 11th, 12th, and 13th, he was arrested in the Council Chamber on the 16th of the same month, instantly sent to the Tower, and six weeks after found guilty of felony, and condemned to death.[1] On the 22nd of January following, his nephew, the King, laconically notes in his diary, "The Duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower Hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning."[2]

Between the arrest of the Duke and his condemnation, the Queen Dowager of Scotland, Mary of Guise, passed through England on her way to Scotland, and was sent, according to the custom at that time, in the case of all foreigners of distinction, to see Hampton Court. She was escorted there by the gentlemen of Sussex and Surrey, and many nobles, and was met about two miles distant from the palace by the Marquis of Northampton, many members of the nobility and the whole royal household, gentlemen ushers, men-at-arms, carvers, servers, &c. At the gate she was welcomed by the old Marchioness of Northampton and sixty other ladies, who "brought her to her lodging on the Queen's side, all finely dressed;" and in the evening there was a banquet, with music and dancing in the Hall. The next day, the 1st of November, we are told by the royal

[1] Tytler, vol. ii., p. 32 *et seq.*

[2] King Edward's *Journal.* Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 67.

diarist, that "The Dowager perused the house of 'Ampton Court, and saw some coursing of dear." And on the 3rd she went to London by river, accompanied by many barges, and so to Scotland.[1]

For the last three years of the reign of Edward VI., the annals of Hampton Court are barren of any events of historical interest, though he appears to have been there on June 27th, 1552,[2] and on September 29th of the same year.[3]

[1] The Council to Sir Wm. Pickering. *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. 1547-1553, No. 477, and King Edward's *Diary* in *Burnet, ut supra.*

[2] Machyn's *Diary.*

[3] *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. xv., No. 10.

CHAPTER XIX.

QUEEN MARY AND KING PHILIP.

Honeymoon of Philip and Mary—An unattractive Bride—Philip's Haughtiness resented—Niggardliness of the Happy Pair—Animosity between the English and the Spanish—The English Love of Good Cheer—Queen Mary and her Sister Elizabeth—Expected Accouchement of the Queen—Masses and Prayers for her Safe Delivery—A Procession round the Cloisters—Midwives, Nurses, and Rockers and Cradle ready—Despatches prepared to announce the Birth of a Prince—The Queen reported to be in actual Labour—Excitement in London—The Bells rung—Thanksgivings offered—A Priest describes the Beauty of the Infant Prince—But no Child born.

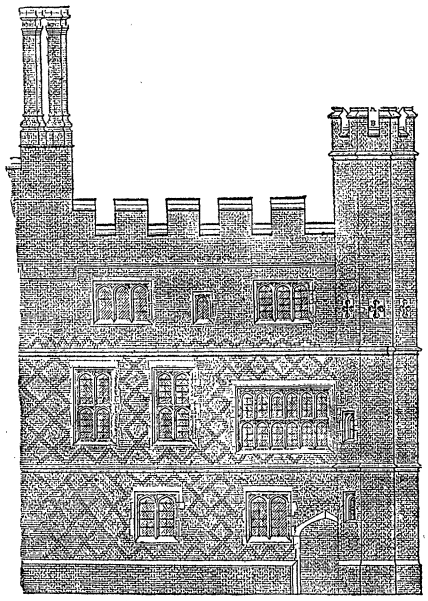
ON the 23rd of August, 1554, Queen Mary and Philip II., five days after they had made their public entry into London, and exactly a month after his arrival in England, retired to Hampton Court to spend their honeymoon. The King's reception had not been very cordial, and he was, doubtless, not sorry to remove from the capital, where the hostility universally exhibited to his attendants and followers, and the brawls which continually occurred, indicated what a deep ill-feeling existed between the two nations.

Though Mary, even at this early period of their married life, was, if not repugnant, at any rate an object of indifference to him, he appears to have behaved, for a short time at least, with



Philip II. of Spain. From the picture by Antonio More at Woburn Abbey.

some outward show of deference. A contemporary writer, who wrote to Spain from the spot, and whose report has been recently published,[1] declares that he never left her side, always assisted her to mount and dismount, dined with her continually in public, and never failed to attend the services



Part of the First Court.

of the Church with her on feast days. Yet the account he gives of her, shows what an unattractive bride she must have been. He describes her as "ugly, small, lean, with a pink and white complexion, no eyebrows, *very pious and very badly dressed.*"

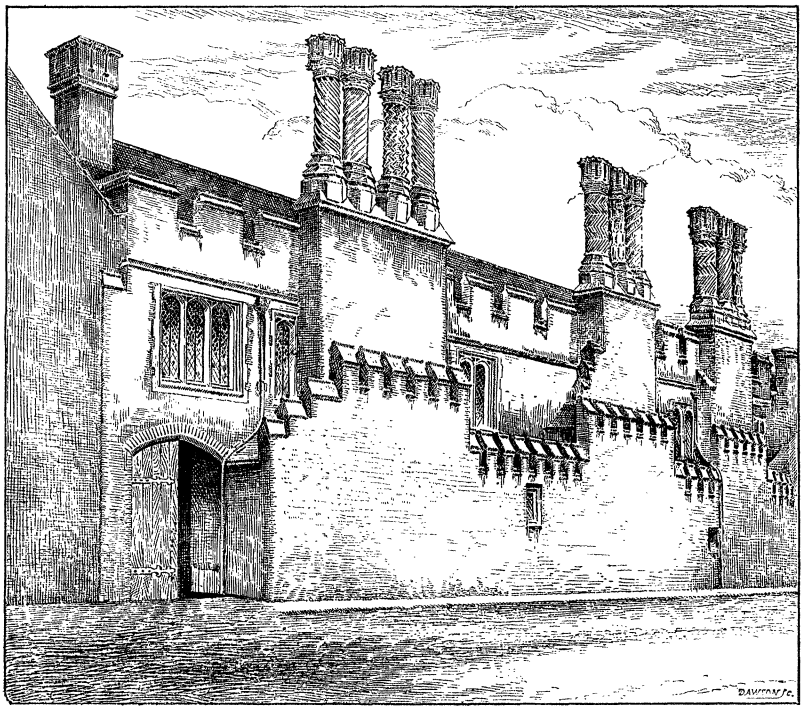
The visit must have been a gloomy one for both of them;

[1] *Fortnightly Review*, 1879.

for they remained in great retirement, allowing very few members of the Court to accompany them, and indulging in none of that magnificence, profusion, and pageantry which constantly followed the Tudor Court. This was set down by the people to Philip's haughty Spanish exclusiveness, complaining that "the hall-door within the court was constantly shut, so that no man might enter unless his errand were first known; which seemed strange to Englishmen that had not been used thereto."[1] No less disgust was excited by the niggardly table kept by the happy pair. Instead of celebrating their marriage, as was the good old English custom, with feastings and festivities, to which all were welcome, they dined in private on *maigre* dishes—fish, buttered eggs, and oatmeal—another instance, so said the English, of morose churlishness.[2]

The King's Spanish attendants, however, who accompanied him to England, naturally looked at the question from a different point of view. They regarded the English as hopeless barbarians and incorrigible heretics, with whom it was impossible to associate as equals, and yet whom they dared not treat as inferiors. Even the ladies disgusted them. According to the Spaniard quoted above, their dresses were of common and coarse material, and ill-made; they wore black stockings, and showed their legs even as far as the knee; they were ugly and very ungraceful, especially when dancing, which with them consisted only of constrained gestures, and shuffling gait. "There is not a single Spanish gentleman," he concludes, "who would give a farthing for any of them, and they care equally little for the Spaniards. The English, in fact, hate us as they do the devil, and in that spirit they treat us. They cheat us in the town, and anyone venturing in the country is robbed."

[1] Holinshed's *Chronicle*, vol. iv., p. 64. [2] Gutch's *Curiosa*, vol. ii., p. 2.



View of the Chimneys of the Great Kitchen, Tennis Court Lane.

This John Bull feeling was a constant cause of complaint by foreign visitors to England in Tudor days. "The English," says a Frenchman who travelled here a year or two after, "are great lovers of themselves and everything belonging to them, and think there are no other men like themselves, and no other world but England. Whenever they see a handsome foreigner, they say that 'he looks like an Englishman, and that it is a great pity he should not be an Englishman.'" [1]

As to banquets, our Spanish critic remarks, that "the English have no other idea of a feast than eating and drinking; they understand no other way of enjoying themselves." And then he goes on to comment severely on the eighteen kitchens in the royal palace, and on the hundred sheep, twelve oxen, eighteen calves, and the tuns of beer —"so abundant that the winter flow of the river at Valladolid is not greater in quantity"—that were daily consumed on the royal table. This love of our ancestors for good cheer, in the reign of Queen Mary, is confirmed by another Frenchman who was in England soon after. "The English," says he, "are great drunkards, and if an Englishman would treat you, he will say in his language, 'Will you drink a quart of Gascoyne, of Spanish, of Malmsey wine?' Their conversation is continually interspersed with phrases such as these: 'Drind iou,' 'Iplaigiou,' 'Bigod sol drind iou agoud oin' (meaning thereby: I drink to you, I pledge you, By God, I shall drink you a good wine)." Like the Spaniard, he censures them for the large quantities of beer they drink, and declares that in England "there is no kind of order; the people are reprobates, and thorough enemies of good manners and letters, for they do not know whether they

[1] Rye's *England as seen by Foreigners.*

belong to God or the Devil, and their manners are very unpolite."[1]

It was, according to some authorities, during this gloomy visit of Philip and Mary to Hampton Court, which came to a close on the 28th of September, that a private reconciliation took place between the Queen and her sister Elizabeth, who was then a prisoner at Woodstock, and was sent for to have an interview with her. They go on to allege that the forgiveness then extended to Elizabeth was publicly proclaimed by her being an honoured guest at the following Christmas, which, these writers add, was celebrated with unusual splendour at Hampton Court.

But for none of these assertions is there any historic warrant. As to an interview, indeed, at this time, there seems to be absolutely no evidence at all. It is not mentioned by any contemporary historians, or chroniclers, nor alluded to by those careful retailers of all the secret doings of the Court—the foreign ambassadors; so that we are forced to suspect that it was invented in order to account for the supposed fact of Elizabeth being received as an honoured guest by her sister at Christmas time.[2]

Yet for this itself there are but the narrowest grounds. The assertion was first made by Thomas Warton in his "Life of Sir Thomas Pope," where he tells us that on Christmas Eve in 1554, the Great Hall of Hampton Court was lit up with a thousand lamps curiously disposed; that Elizabeth supped at the same table with the King and Queen, and was served with a perfumed napkin and a plate of confects by Lord Paget, but that afterwards she retired to her ladies before the maskings and disguisings began. He adds, than on St. Stephen's Day she heard mass in the royal closet adjoining the chapel, being attired in a robe of white satin, strung

[1] Stephen Perlin, *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iv., p. 511.

[2] Wiesener's *Youth of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii., p. 142.

over with large pearls. "On the 29th of December, she sat with their Majesties and the nobility at a grand spectacle of jousting, when two hundred spears were broken. Half the combatants were attired in the Almaine, and half in the Spanish fashion."

An account so precise and circumstantial was calculated to inspire credit; and so we find that all subsequent writers, such as Nichols, Lysons, Pyne, Strickland, &c., have quoted the passage without verifying its truth. Warton cited as his authority the Cottonian manuscript Vitell. F., now better known, since its publication by the Camden Society, as "Machyn's Diary." But nothing like the supposed quotation is to be found there, and that it never could have been in the manuscript is clear from there being no break in the narrative at this point. Nor is there anything in any other contemporary accounts, nor in the State Papers, that would tend to confirm it. On the contrary, it would appear that the King and Queen remained in London during the whole of the Christmas-tide, 1554, and that Elizabeth was still at Woodstock under constraint.[1]

How the mistake arose it is impossible to divine, particularly as the fact of the Christmas in question being the only one spent by Philip II. in England, precludes the account from applying to any other year.

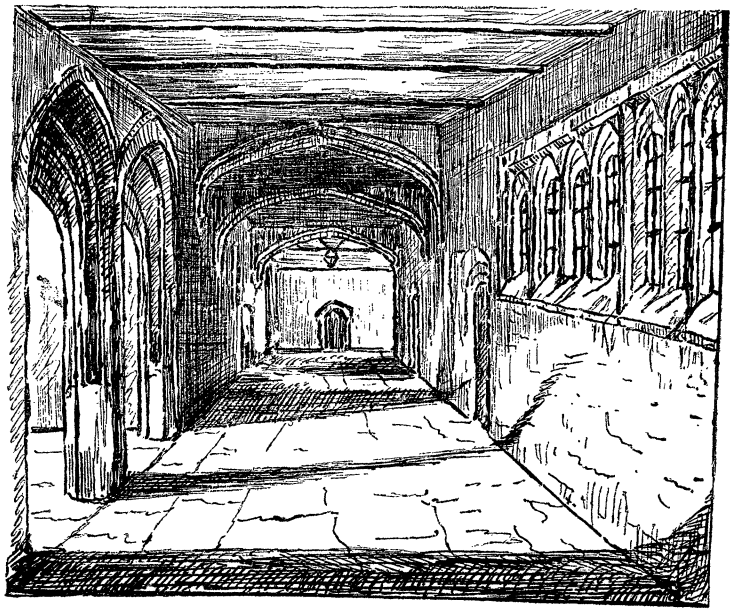
The reconciliation, however, did, in effect, take place at Hampton Court in the month of May, 1555, about five weeks after Courtenay had been pardoned and liberated.

On the 3rd of April, Philip went to the palace to spend Easter, accompanied by Mary, who was awaiting her confinement, which she fondly imagined was soon going to take place.[2] According to the custom of that time, therefore, she

[1] Wiesener's *Youth of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii., p. 144.

[2] Mr. Froude gives the date as the 20th of April; but Machyn, whom he cites as his authority, distinctly says the 3rd, and a despatch of the Vene-

"took her chamber there," that is, retired entirely from public view until after her delivery, and for some weeks we hear little news from Court, except that, on the 8th of April, Courtenay was admitted to kiss hands before his departure



North Cloister in Hampton Court Palace.

for the Netherlands, and that the Duke of Alva spent a few days with Philip.[1]

While the King and Queen were in retirement, processions were organized and masses were said in London to

tian ambassador (Giovanni Michieli to the Doge, April 8th, 1555, Friedmann's *Dépêches de G. Michiel*, p. 28), and the authority of Strype (vol. iii., p. 212) confirm this.

[1] Wiesener's *Youth of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii., pp. 154, 158, &c.

draw down the Divine blessing upon the expected offspring, and "a solemn prayer was made for King Philip and Queen Mary's child, that it might be a male child, well-favoured and witty."[1]

On the 23rd of April, being St. George's Day, after a grand high mass in the chapel royal, King Philip, as Sovereign of the Order of the Garter, went with the Knights, and the Lords of the Council in their robes, in procession round the cloisters and courts of the palace; attended by heralds, and accompanied by the Lord Chancellor, and by Bishop Gardiner in his mitre, and followed by a crowd of noblemen and ecclesiastics, with acolytes bearing crosses and carrying tapers, thurifers swinging censers, and clerks and priests all in copes of cloth of gold and tissue.[2] As they marched round the cloister of the old Inner Court (which stood on the site of the present Fountain Court) solemnly singing the hymn "Salva festa dies," the Queen looked down on them from the window of her bedchamber, and watched them pass, so that she was seen by hundreds of spectators.[3] This was considered a somewhat serious breach of etiquette, but it was, doubtless, done in order publicly to testify to Mary's reverence for the ceremonies of the Catholic faith, and to refute the rumour then current that she was dead.

Immediately after this, the birth of the anxiously expected heir was believed at length to be imminent, and the greatest excitement prevailed in the palace. The nursery was got ready, midwives, nurses, and rockers were engaged, and "a cradle veri sumptuouslie and gorgeouslie trimmed" was prepared;[4] and on it were inscribed the verses:—

[1] Holinshed's *Chronicle*, ed. 1808, vol. iv., p. 68.
[2] Machyn's *Diary*.
[3] Do.
[4] Holinshed's *Chronicle*, vol. iv., p. 69.

The child which thou to Marie,
O Lord of might hast send,
To England's joie in health
Preserve, keepe and defend.

Indeed, so completely confident were they as to the anticipated event, that not only were passports made out for the Queen's messengers, who were to be the bearers of the joyful intelligence, but despatches were also prepared for the English ambassadors abroad, and letters for the continental sovereigns, announcing the fact of her Majesty's safe delivery.[1]

These documents were signed by the King and Queen "Given under our signet at our house of Hampton Court," the date being left in blank to be filled in afterwards, and the word *fil* left unfinished, so that by the after-addition of *s* or of *le* it would serve for a boy or a girl.[2] One of these singular letters however—namely, the one which was to be sent to Cardinal Pole—was more decidedly worded, and went so far as to settle the sex of the expected baby, informing him in express terms "that God had been pleased, amongst his other benefits, to add the gladding of us with the happy delivery of *a Prince*."[3]

These curious evidences of the infatuation of the royal confidence may still be seen in the Record Office. At length, on the last day of the month, the glorious hour, in which should be brought forth the hope of England and of the Catholic world, was declared to have arrived. The Queen was said to be actually in labour, and messengers were despatched in advance to announce the happy event in London, where the news was received with the ringing of bells, the singing of the

[1] *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. v., Nos. 28-32.

[2] *State Papers, Foreign*, vol. 1553-1558, Nos. 367-380.

[3] Tytler's *England under Edward and Mary*, vol. ii., p. 469; and *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. v., No. 28.

"Te Deum" in several churches, the preaching of thanksgiving sermons, and the lighting of bonfires.[1] Indeed, one devout priest went so far, in the fervour of his religious enthusiasm, as to describe the very appearance of the child—"how fair, how beautiful and great a prince it was, as the like had not been seen."[2]

The news even crossed the Channel to Antwerp, where the great bell of the Cathedral was set ringing, and salutes fired by the vessels in the river for the actual birth, and the English mariners' supplied by the Regent with a hundred crowns to drink the health of the new-born prince.[3]

But, as Machyn observes, "the morrow after, yt was torned ordur ways, to the plesur of God." No child had been born; the symptoms, if there had ever been any, passed off; and suspicion began to arise that some very considerable mistake had been made. Still Mary herself had no misgivings. She declared she felt the motion of her child, and her physicians affected to believe that there were real grounds for her hopes. So religious processions were ordered, and up and down marched the priests "through city and suburb, park and square; torches flared along Cheapside at midnight behind the Holy Sacrament, and five hundred poor men and women from the almshouses walked two and two, telling their beads on their withered fingers. Then all the boys of all the schools were set in motion, and the ushers and the masters came after them; clerks, canons, bishops, mayor, aldermen, officers of guilds. Such marching, such chanting, such praying was never seen or heard before or since in London streets."[4]

[1] Machyn's *Diary*.
[2] Holinshed's *Chronicle*, ed. 1808, vol. iv., p. 82.
[3] Froude's *History*, vol. vi., p. 347. Noailles to Montmorency, April 30th. *Ambassades*, vol. iv., p. 290.
[4] Froude's *History*, vol. vi., p. 347.

CHAPTER XX.

RECONCILIATION OF MARY AND ELIZABETH.

Arrival of the Princess Elizabeth in custody at Hampton Court—She is confined in the Water Gallery—Secret Interview with King Philip—She is visited by Gardiner and the Council—Her dignified Reception of them—She refuses to own herself in the wrong—They return to her again—But can extract no Acknowledgment of Guilt—She is summoned in the middle of the Night before the Queen—The Interview of the two Sisters—She is Pardoned—Sneaking Tricks of King Philip—He insults an English Lady—Hopes of the Queen's Pregnancy dwindle—Her Agony of Despair—Philip leaves her in Disgust.

IT was at this juncture that Elizabeth arrived at the palace, having been sent for by the Queen, perhaps that she might be a witness of the birth, and because that event would probably terminate the political intrigues that had hitherto found a centre in her. Philip also wished to be conciliatory towards her, partly because he hoped by that means to ingratiate himself with the English people, and partly perhaps with a view to eventually making her his wife, if, as he probably suspected would be the case, Mary should after all be childless, and not live long. Mary also, on the advice of Philip, had at length made up her mind to pardon her sister, against whom, in spite of strong suspicion, nothing treasonable had ever yet been proved.

Bedingfield, under whose custody she was at Woodstock, had received orders on the 17th of April to bring her with all speed to Court, with her servants and guards; and the party set out on the journey, with every precaution, on the 25th, arriving four days after at Hampton Court.[1] But if Elizabeth had expected that her sister intended at once to pardon her and receive her in a way befitting the heiress to the throne, she was disappointed. For instead of being brought in state through the principal entrance and ushered into the royal presence, Bedingfield and his guards conducted her like a prisoner to a back gate, whence she was taken to the apartments assigned to her, and closely guarded.[2] The rooms she occupied appear to have been those in the Water Gallery, which is shown on the right in the accompanying engraving, and which was doubtless selected on account of its isolation from the rest of the building. All communication with anyone was forbidden, and for a day or two she only saw her own bedchamber women and Bedingfield.

But on the 1st or 2nd of May a message came from the Queen directing her to prepare herself to receive Philip, and to attire herself in the most splendid robe she possessed.[3]

Of what passed at the interview—the first that ever took place between these two illustrious persons, who were destined afterwards to become such deadly enemies—we have no record. The King came to the Princess's apartment by a private passage or cloister;[4] and the visit was kept so profound a secret that none except those immediately con-

[1] *Bedingfield Papers*, p. 225. See also Wiesener's *Youth of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii., p. 161.

[2] "Her Grace," says Heywood (*England's Elizabeth*, p. 191), "entered Hampton Court on the Backside, the doores being shut upon her, the soul-diers in their ancient posture of watch and ward."

[3] Wiesener; and also Friedmann's *Dépêches de Michiel*, p. 36.

[4] Evidently the "vowght" under the King's Privy Gallery.

cerned knew it had taken place at all, and no mention has ever been made of it by any English historian. Information of it, however, reached the French and Venetian ambassadors, from whom nothing that happened in the palace could be concealed, and they duly reported it to their respective Courts.[1]

We may assume that the impression made on the King by Elizabeth was a favourable one, as his subsequent conduct proves, though there is nothing to support the conjecture of some authors that he fell in love with her.

After the King's visit, Elizabeth was suffered to remain for about a fortnight in dismal solitude, being permitted neither to go out nor to receive any visitors. Her great-uncle, however, Lord William Howard, was allowed to see her, and "used her very honourably, condoled with her, and raised her dejected spirits with comfortable speeches," and promised her that he would use his influence to procure her an interview with some of the Council.[2] This exactly fell in with Mary's view, who thought that thereby her sister might be induced to throw herself on her mercy and acknowledge her guilt.

But nothing was further from Elizabeth's mind than to retreat at this time from the high position of injured innocence, which she had assumed throughout her troubles. Accordingly, when Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, soon after presented himself, with Petre and Lords Arundel and Shrewsbury, she at once divined their object, and was a match for their manœuvring. With great humility, we are told, they "humbled themselves before her Grace; and she was not behind them in courtesy, but lovingly saluted them again;"[3] and, without waiting to hear their mission, she addressed them first. "My honourable Lords," said

[1] See Wiesener, *ubi supra*, who has had access to the unpublished archives.

[2] Heywood, p. 192.

[3] Do., p. 193.

she, "I am glad with all my heart to see you, for methinks I have been kept a great while from you desolately alone. Committed to the hands of a strict keeper, my humble request is to all your Lordships, that you would be the happy instrument of my further enlargement. It is not unknown to you what I have suffered now a long time; I beseech you, therefore, to take me into your loving consideration." When she had spoken, the bishop, kneeling down, answered by saying, "Let me request your Grace but to submit yourself to the Queen, and then I doubt not but that you shall presently enjoy an happy issue of your desires." But if he thought that in this way he could extort the avowal which she had with innate sagacity persistently refused to make, he was much mistaken. "No," she replied, "rather than I will so do, I will lie in prison all the days of my life. If ever I have offended her Majesty in thought, word, or deed, then not mercy but the law is that which I desire. If I yield, I should then against myself confess a fault which was never on my part intended, by occasion whereof the King and Queen may then justly conceive an evil opinion of me. No, no, my Lords," she continued, "it were much better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be at liberty, suspected by my Prince."[1]

Her answer was carried to the Queen, and the next day Gardiner and his colleagues came again, and kneeling before her, told her that "the Queen marvelled at her boldness in refusing to confess her offence, so that it might seem as if her Majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her Grace." "No," answered Elizabeth, "I never had such a thought; it may please her Majesty to punish me as she thinketh good." "Well," replied Gardiner, "her Majesty willeth me to tell you, that you must tell another tale before you are set at

[1] Heywood, p. 194. Foxe substantially agrees.

liberty." "Alas!" rejoined Elizabeth, "I had rather be here in custody, with honesty and truth, than abroad suspected of her Majesty. And this which I have said, I will stand to, for I will never belie myself." "Why, then," said Gardiner, "your Grace hath the advantage of me and the rest of the Lords, for your long and wrong imprisonment." "What advantage I had," she answered, "God and your own conscience can best tell, and here before Him I speak it, for that dealing which I have had amongst you I seek no remedy, but pray that God may forgive you all." "Amen, amen," said he; and so they departed, "she being fast locked up again."[1]

A week elapsed before anything further happened. But at the end of that time, one night at ten o'clock, Elizabeth suddenly received a message that she was to go at once to the Queen. Such a summons at that late hour was enough to fill even her stout heart with apprehension. While she hastily prepared herself for the meeting, visions of imprisonments, visions of the rack, possibly of murder or the scaffold, floated before her imagination: and she begged her ladies and attendants to offer up their prayers in her behalf, for she could not tell whether they would ever see her again.

At the foot of the stairs of her apartment, Elizabeth, accompanied by her ladies in waiting, was met by Bedingfield and Mistress Clarence, a lady in waiting to the Queen, who conducted her across the garden, while her gentlemen ushers and grooms went before her, carrying torches, and led her up the privy stair to the Queen's lodgings. There her ladies and gentlemen were commanded to remain while Mary's confidential attendant ushered her into the Queen's bedroom, where her Majesty was.[2]

[1] Heywood, and Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. viii., p. 621.

[2] Foxe, Heywood, and Holinshed, *ubi supra.*



Queen Mary. From the picture by Antonio More at Woburn Abbey.

Everything had been done so far to impress the imagination and play upon the fears of Elizabeth; and the same course was followed now. When Elizabeth entered the room, she found Mary alone, seated on a chair of state, to receive her not as a sister, scarcely even as a queen, but rather as a judge.

Nearly eighteen months had passed since they had met, but the lapse of time had done little to soften the feeling of resentment and aversion with which the elder sister regarded the younger; and their meeting now was rather due to policy than any feeling of forgiveness. The Princess curtseyed three times as she advanced, and then falling on her knees, "she desired God to preserve her Majesty, not mistrusting but that she should prove herself as true a subject towards her Majesty as ever did any, and even so desired her Majesty to judge her; and said that she should not find her to the contrary whatever report otherwise had gone of her."

But the Queen answered sharply, "Then you will not confess yourself to be a delinquent, I see; but rather stand stoutly on your truth. I pray God your truth may become manifest." "If not," said the Princess, "I will request for neither favour nor pardon at your Majesty's hands." "Well, then," answered the Queen, "you stand so stiffly on your truth, belike you have been wrongfully punished and imprisoned." "I cannot and must not say so to your Majesty," was Elizabeth's adroit reply. "Why then, belike you will report it so to others?" rejoined Mary. "Not so, an please your Majesty," answered she; "I have borne and must bear the burden myself; and if I may but enjoy your Majesty's good opinion of me, I shall be the better enabled to bear it still, and I pray God when I shall cease to be one of your Majesty's truest and loyal subjects, that then I may cease to be at all."

The Queen had not been more successful in extorting an avowal from her sister than the Lord Chancellor. She only muttered in Spanish, "Sabe Dios"—"God knows"—and then, according to Leti,[1] added, "Whether innocent or guilty I forgive you," and, turning aside, left her to be conveyed to her former custody.[2]

Thus terminated this famous interview, and with it ended Elizabeth's imprisonment. A week after she was set at liberty, and henceforth she was allowed to have her separate establishment, and was treated with the deference belonging to the heiress to the throne.

It has been said by the best authorities, both Foxe and Heywood, that during this conversation Philip was concealed behind the arras, and witnessed what passed. This is by no means unlikely; but the inference that he did so in order to be at hand to protect Elizabeth from any unseemly violence from her sister, is an absurdly gratuitous assumption. That Philip should have played the eavesdropper is only consonant with the tortuousness of his character. In fact, he seems, during his short residence at Hampton Court, to have been always creeping and sneaking about the passages of the palace. One morning he was walking in the Maids of Honour's Gallery, and noticing, as he passed, a small window which admitted daylight into the bedroom of Lady Magdalen Dacre, a lovely girl of sixteen, he peeped in. Seeing that she was at her toilet, he took the liberty of throwing open the casement and putting his arm through. But the beautiful English maid of honour was not disposed to suffer such an impertinence from the Spanish King. She seized a stick that was in the corner close by her, and gave

[1] Leti's *Vie d'Elizabeth*, p. 267.

[2] Mr. Froude, as M. Wiesener points out in his *Youth of Queen Elizabeth*, places this interview in the month of July, and Miss Strickland in the foregoing autumn. Both are in error; the real date was about the end of May.

him such a blow that he hastily withdrew his arm, and hurried away.[1]

These events took place about the last week in May,[2] by which time the belief that the Queen was about to become a mother no longer existed in the minds of anyone except the Queen herself. Week after week passed by, and no child appeared. Processions, prayers, masses were offered up, but in vain; and whispers now began to be heard that after all she had never been pregnant at all; that she never could have a child; that she had mistaken the symptoms of a horrible and incurable disease—dropsy—for the signs of pregnancy; and that she was fast hastening to her grave.

At first those about her found it difficult to convince her. But slowly and irresistibly the dreadful truth began to dawn on her mind, and all her hopes gave way, one by one, in an agony of pain and despair. Her only consolation was prayer; the book of devotions she used at this time is still in existence, worn and fingered at the pages on which are found the prayers for the unity of the church and the safe delivery of a woman with child.[3] The accounts transmitted by the foreign ambassadors to their respective Courts present a deplorable picture of her condition. For weeks she would lie in her bed without speaking, like one dead. Then she would sit for whole days on the floor, huddled up, with her knees against her face, her whole body swollen with disease, her countenance distorted and haggard, and her mind shaken with the ruin of all her hopes.[4]

[1] Miss Strickland, *Life of Queen Mary*, citing a Life of Lady Montacute by Richard Smith.

[2] On May 10th "was brought unto the Court at Hamtun to the Counsell a yonge man the whyche sayd he was Kynge Edward VI^th^, and was afor the counselle, and so examynyd how he so bold, and after delivered unto the marshall and conveyed to the marshalsay, and there he bydyth the Counselles pleasure."—*Machyn.*

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign.* Introduction by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, p. lxxiii.

[4] *Ambassades de Noailles*, vol. iv., p. 342. Noailles got this information from a paid spy, who himself derived

This aspect of affairs could not but conduce to the advantage of Elizabeth, who, now that she was at liberty, found herself treated with respect and consideration by the courtiers, who turned towards her as the rising sun. When they came to the receptions, which she was now allowed to give, they went on bended knee to kiss her hand,[1] and even the Papal Nuncio and Philip were observed to make obeisance before her. Yet she never wavered from her accustomed circumspection, nor behaved so as to excite the hostility of her susceptible sister. On the contrary, she affected the most complete submission to her wishes, professed herself a fervent Catholic, attended mass in the Royal Chapel, and received the Communion from the hands of Gardiner. It was at this period that, when cross-examined by Mary as to her faith in transubstantiation, she is supposed to have eluded the difficulty by replying:—

> "Christ's was the word that spake it;
> He took the bread and brake it;
> And what his word did make it,
> That I believe and take it."[2]

Yet she was ill at ease at Court; and when Mary, wearied with disappointment and sickness,[3] removed, after four months' seclusion, on the 3rd of August, for a few days to the neighbouring house at Oatlands, Elizabeth asked to be allowed to retire from Court, a request which was willingly granted. As the Queen was going through the park to

his knowledge from one of the midwives and an old lady who had been in Mary's household twenty years.

[1] Froude's *History*, vol. vi., p. 357, *note*, and Wiesener's *Youth of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii., pp. 174-76. Foxe, vol. viii., p. 622.

[2] These verses are included among the *Divine Poems* of Dr. Donne, who wrote at the end of the reign of Elizabeth.

[3] As late as July 12th we find it stated that "the Queen's delivery was hourly expected."—*State Papers, Domestic*, vol. v., No. 48.

enter her barge, which was ready at the waterside to take her up the river, she met a poor man on crutches, who, on seeing her, threw away his crutches for joy, and ran after her. She was so touched by this incident, which she perhaps thought akin to a miracle, that she ordered him a reward from the privy purse.[1]

We do not learn on what day the royal party came back to the palace, but they were there again at any rate by the 26th of August, on which day they took barge for Westminster.[2] Six days afterwards Philip, who was by this time thoroughly tired of, and disgusted with his wife, and cared to stay no longer, now that it was evident she was destined to be childless, left Greenwich for the Netherlands.

Hampton Court saw him and Mary but once more, in the month of June, two years after, during his brief second and last visit to England, when they and the Council came down for a couple of days "for to hunt and to kyll a grett hart" in the park.[3]

[1] Machyn's *Diary*.
[2] Wriothesley's *Chronicle* (Camden Society), vol. ii., p. 130.
[3] Machyn's *Diary*.

CHAPTER XXI.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S LOVE AFFAIRS.

Question of the Queen Marrying—She has a clandestine Meeting with the Earl of Arran in the Gardens at Hampton Court—Not the Husband for her—Secret political Schemes of Cecil and the Queen—Noailles, the French Ambassador, befooled—De Quadra, the Spanish Ambassador—His Spies at Court—The Queen deludes him also—Suitors for the Hand of the Virgin Queen—"Scandal about Queen Elizabeth"—Her undue Intimacy with Lord Robert Dudley—His audacious Familiarity—Rumours of her being with Child—Her supposed Son—Dudley's insolent Presumption—A Row in the Tennis Court—The Queen taken ill with the Small-Pox—Her Death imminent—The Fate of England trembling in the Balance—She rallies—And lives.

DURING the reign of Queen Elizabeth, though Hampton Court was frequently inhabited by her Majesty and the Court, it was not the scene of any events of great historic interest; for the Queen reserved it almost exclusively as a residence to which she might retire in times of festivity, or for short seasons of rest and quiet. She made her first visit here, after her accession, in the year 1559, when, according to Machyn, on the 10th of August, "the wyche was Sant Lawrence day, the Queen's grace removyd from Non-shyshe (Nonsuch) unto Hampton Courte."[1] On the 15th she went

[1] Machyn's *Diary* (Camden Society).

for a couple of days' visit to the Lord High Admiral's[1] place in the neighbourhood, but soon returned again to the palace.

The Queen had by this time been on the throne about nine months, and the questions of her marriage and the uncertainty of the succession were beginning to cause great anxiety to her advisers. Their attention was already directed to the Earl of Arran, the Duke of Chatelehérault's eldest son, who, as a Protestant and a member of the Royal House of Scotland, appeared to Cecil and other English statesmen a most suitable consort for Elizabeth. Their view was that, if a match could be got up between him and Elizabeth, that union of the English and Scottish crowns which had so long been the aim of English statesmen, could be effected at one stroke; while at the same time a severe and effective blow would be dealt at the pretensions of Mary Stuart, who by the death of Henri II. had just become Queen Consort of France.

This scheme appears to have approved itself to Elizabeth, who told Quadra, the Spanish ambassador, that "she would take a husband that would make the King of France's head ache."[2]

Accordingly Arran, who had just escaped from France, and was hiding in Switzerland, was invited over to England; and visited by the Queen at Cecil's house in the Strand, where he lay concealed; and at the end of August he was brought down secretly to the neighbourhood of Hampton Court, to have another interview with the Queen. He would seem to have come from some hiding-place on the Surrey side of the river, perhaps at East Moulsey, and to have crossed the river, and landed on the towing-path near the old Water Gallery. Here he was met by Cecil, who admitted him into

[1] Edmund Fiennes, ninth Lord Clinton and Saye.

[2] Froude's *History*, vol. vii., p. 119.

the Queen's Private Garden, where a clandestine meeting took place between him and her Majesty.[1] The interview lasted some time; but whatever may have passed, it did not tend to confirm Elizabeth in the proposed match. Arran was a man of very narrow intellect, and, what probably weighed not less with the Queen, totally devoid of any personal beauty or accomplishments. Decidedly he was not the man for her; he might be useful as a political tool, but as a sharer of her crown she would not have him at any price. "She would never," as she told the Spanish ambassador, "have a husband who would sit all day by the fireside. When she married, it should be a man who could ride and hunt and fight."[2]

Another interview with him, probably also at Hampton Court, only strengthened her earlier impression; and not all the exhortations of her Council, nor the prospect of the union of the two crowns and the damage to the cause of the Guises, could bend her from her purpose.[3]

Thus was the second aspirant to the hand of the Virgin Queen dismissed; and a day or two after he was sent on to Scotland under the special escort of Thomas Randolph,[4] Elizabeth's spy, who was instructed to see him safe over the border, "yet in such a manner that his own hand in it should be undiscovered," and so that the fact of Arran having been in England and seen by the Queen, should not become known.

In all these transactions the greatest secrecy was observed. Not only were all the letters and despatches to the Queen's agents in the North written in ciphers, which were continually

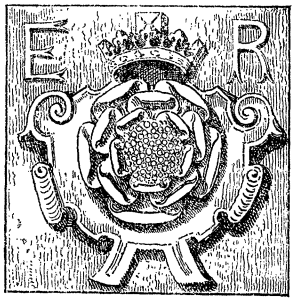
[1] Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol. i., p. 361: "Il a veu en passant ceste royne, et qu'il feust introduict vers elle par le trésorier de sa maison dans le jardin de Hampton Court, ou ilz furent quelque temps ensemble, et que, au partir de dela il luy feust donné cinq ou six cens escus."

[2] Froude's *History*, vol. vii., p. 97.

[3] Do., p. 137.

[4] *Sadler Papers*, p. 417.

being altered, and entrusted only to messengers on whom the greatest reliance could be placed; but the negotiations were kept a secret, even from many members of the Council. The Queen and Cecil were closeted together for hours at Hampton Court, inditing despatches and reading the reports of agents; so that some of her Majesty's trusty councillors began to complain that they were left out in the cold; while others were so far deceived in what was going on, as to solemnly protest to the ambassadors that the alleged fostering of the rebellion in Scotland was entirely false, thus un-



Carved Stone on the Great Gate-house with Queen Elizabeth's initials.

wittingly doing their Queen the very service of all others which she desired, and deceiving the French as to her relations with the Scotch. A like circumspection was enjoined on the recipients of the Queen's instructions, who were on the Border fomenting the rebellion by all the means in their power, but who were told to do everything in such a way that their actions might be afterwards disowned, and so that the share therein of the English government, though it might be suspected, could not be proved.

So successful were these schemes, that Noailles, the French ambassador, whom it most concerned to know

Arran's movements, was kept entirely in ignorance, not merely of the underhand part the Queen was playing in Scotland, and of her interview with the earl, but even of his passage through England, until two months after.[1]

On the 6th of September, five days after Arran left Hampton Court, Noailles came down from London to pick up the news at Court, and see and confer with Elizabeth. One of the first topics that he touched on was the escape of Arran from France, and he expressed a hope, on the part of the King of France, that if the earl should come to England, he might at once be arrested. Elizabeth answered, without betraying any discomposure, that she had no news of him, but that if he should fall into her power, the King might rest assured she would do what he wished. His diplomacy, in fact, was in every way baffled by the cunning of the young Queen; and he himself admitted that he was quite disconcerted by the way in which, whenever she was in a difficulty, she turned it off with a laugh.[2]

De Quadra, the Spanish ambassador, was not one to be so easily deceived. He had, as he boasted to his master, Philip II., his spies everywhere, even about the Queen's person, and he knew everything she did and every word she said; so much so, that he was able to announce Arran's arrival in England to the Spanish Court almost as soon as it was known to Elizabeth and Cecil. But his turn was to come next.

When the proposed match with Philip had failed, the Court of Spain fell back on his cousin, the Archduke Charles. Though at first the idea met with no encouragement from Elizabeth, yet now that Arran was out of the way, she affected to view the project favourably, in order to keep alive her friendly relations with Spain. The very next

[1] Froude's *History*, vol. vii., p. 140, &c.

[2] Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, vol. i., pp. 343, 347, 357, &c.

day after Noailles had been to see her, a message came to De Quadra from Lady Sidney, the mother of Sir Philip Sidney and Lord Robert Dudley's sister, who was in waiting on the Queen, to the effect that her Majesty was inclined to consider favourably the match, if it were pressed. The ambassador at once hastened to Hampton Court to see her ladyship, and inquire the meaning of so sudden a change. "Lady Sidney" (we quote from Mr. Froude's version of the ambassador's original despatch in the Simancas),[1] "told a very strange story. She said that there had been a plot to murder the Queen and Lord Robert Dudley at a banquet which was given at Lord Arundel's. The frightfulness of the danger, coupled with the disturbances in Scotland, had so alarmed Elizabeth that she had positively determined to marry. Sir Thomas Parry and Lord Robert were the only persons as yet aware of her intention; but it was with the Queen's knowledge that she was now speaking to him. He might assure himself that she would not risk her life in such a matter by telling an untruth; and De Quadra had but to take the first opportunity of speaking to the Queen himself, to be satisfied of the sincerity of her good intentions." He, therefore, had an audience of her, in which she assured him that the Archduke would be most welcome at Court, and gave him every reason to believe that she would accept him as a husband.

Nevertheless, before the Queen had learned whether he was coming or not, she was already dallying with another suitor, Prince Eric, the heir of the King of Sweden, whose brother, the Duke of Finland, came as an ambassador on his behalf, and landed in England on September the 27th, the day before her Majesty left Hampton Court for London. "The Swede and Charles, the son of the Emperor," wrote

[1] Froude's *Reign of Elizabeth*, vol. vii., p. 141.

Bishop Jewel, "are courting at a most marvellous rate. But the Swede is most in earnest, for he promises mountains of silver in case of success. The lady, however, is probably thinking of an alliance nearer home."[1] But the real fact was probably, as De Quadra surmised, that she did not wish to marry at all, and would escape it if she dared.

At the same time, while she was dallying with all these and many other suitors for her hand, the fact, that her affections were really already fixed on Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, was becoming daily more apparent to all. Indeed, we are sorry to have to say that Hampton Court is connected with some very grave "scandal about Queen Elizabeth," which is to be referred to the autumn of the year 1561. In the spring of that year, the intimacy between the Queen and Lord Robert, which had for some time been a topic of much gossip, not only in every grade of society in England, but also abroad, began to give rise to very injurious rumours. Quadra informed the King of Spain that, according to common belief, the Queen lived with Dudley as if she was his wife[2]—a piece of scandal at which we can hardly be surprised, if it be true what the French ambassador reports of Leicester, that "ayant l'entree comme il a, dans la chambre de la reyne, lorsquelle est au lit, il s'était ingéré de lui bailler la chemise au lieu de sa dame d'honneur, et de s'hazarder de lui même de la baiser, sans y être convié." Mary Queen of Scots, in writing to her, took a malicious pleasure in repeating some scandal she had heard of a similar nature, too gross to be retailed here.

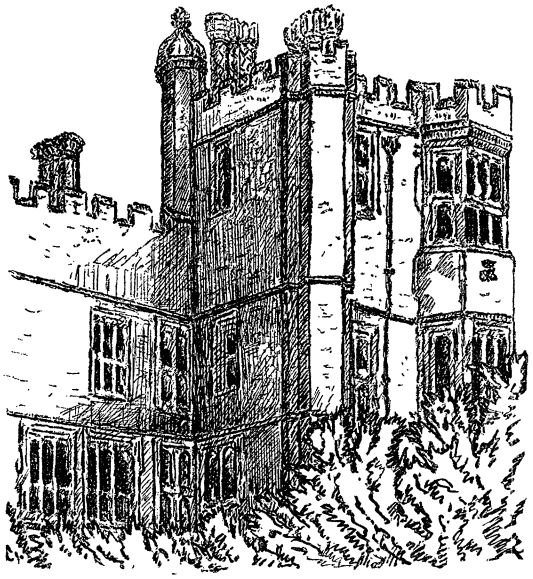
Quadra adds, that in one of his audiences Elizabeth referred to these and similar reports, and, to refute them, showed him the relative situation of their apartments. But very soon after that, she moved Leicester into a room close

[1] *Zurich Letters*, Parker Society, p. 46.

[2] Froude's *History of England*, vol. vii., p. 148.

to her own, on the plea that his rooms on the ground-floor were damp and unhealthy.[1]

In September, while she was residing at Hampton Court, these rumours gained additional credence from the change in her appearance, of which the same ambassador gives a circum-



View of Queen Elizabeth's Room from the Private Gardens.

stantial account in his despatch. And it was at this time, if we may believe the gossips, that she actually gave birth to a male child. At any rate, many years after, a man presented himself at Madrid, declaring himself to be a son of the Queen and Leicester, and gave the following account of himself, which was reported by a spy to the English government at the time,

[1] Lingard's *History*, vol. vi., p. 659.

and is likewise preserved among the Spanish State records:—"He was," he said, "the reputed son of Robert Sotheron, once a servant of Mrs. Ashley of Evesham. By order of Mrs. Ashley, Sotheron went to Hampton Court, where he was met by Nicholas Haryngton, who told him that a lady at Court had been delivered of a child, that the Queen was desirous to conceal her dishonour, and that Mrs. Ashley wished him to provide a nurse for it, and to take it under his care. Being led into the gallery near the royal closet, he received the infant from her with directions to call it Arthur; entrusted it to the wife of the miller at Moulsey,[1] on the opposite bank of the Thames, and afterwards conveyed him to his own house." Some years later Sotheron conducted the boy to a school in London: thence he was sent abroad to travel; and Sotheron only revealed to him his parentage when on his deathbed. He added, that he contrived to have an interview with Leicester, but with what result he was careful not to say.[2]

It was probably at Hampton Court that a curious incident took place about three years after, which is related in a letter of Randolph's to Sir William Throckmorton.

The Queen was sitting in the "dedans"[3] of the Tennis Court, watching the Duke of Norfolk and Leicester play tennis, when "my Lord Robert being verie hotte and swetinge took the Queen's napken owte of her hande and wyped his face, w^{ch} the Duke seinge saide that he was to sawcie, and swhore y^{t} he wolde laye his racket vpon his face. Here vpon rose a great troble, and the Queen offendid sore wth the Duke."[4]

[1] The old mill still exists.

[2] Lingard's *History*, vol. vi., Note EE; and see Ellis' *Original Letters*, 2nd Ser., iii., p. 135. It is certainly curious that the English spy should, when writing in 1588, give his age as twenty-six, which would fix his birth to this year 1562.

[3] The gallery at the end for the spectators.

[4] *State Papers, Scotland*, vol. x., No. 31, A.

The autumn of 1562 was a period of very great anxiety for England. The abandonment of the proposed interview between Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots; the increased agitation among the Catholic party; the plots of Arthur Pole; the outbreak of the civil war in France, and the occupation of Havre by the English troops, at the invitation of the Huguenots: all these combined to spread a feeling of insecurity and uneasiness in the public mind, which was deepened into absolute alarm when, towards the end of October, it began to be whispered in London that the Queen was lying dangerously ill of small-pox at Hampton Court.

She had arrived at the palace on September the 19th, and for a few weeks was in her usual health and spirits.[1] She attended to affairs of state, wrote despatches to her ambassadors, and did not neglect those amusements and occupations with which she was accustomed to relax her mind, such as dancing, and playing on the lute and harpsicord.

But one day, the 13th of October, she was seized with a sudden faintness and shivering. At first she took no account of her sensations, supposing probably that it was only a slight attack of ague, to which she was subject, and of which she had an attack here a few days after her visit from Arran. She therefore imprudently went out for a walk in the garden. This gave her cold, checked the eruption, and that night she was in a high fever. She continued to grow rapidly and alarmingly worse; and on the night of the 15th, Cecil was sent for, the physicians giving it as their opinion that unless there was soon an improvement, she could live but a few days. Next day such of the Lords of the Council as were in London came down to take counsel together, as to what measures should be adopted in the event of her death. In the evening she sank into a stupor

[1] Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.*

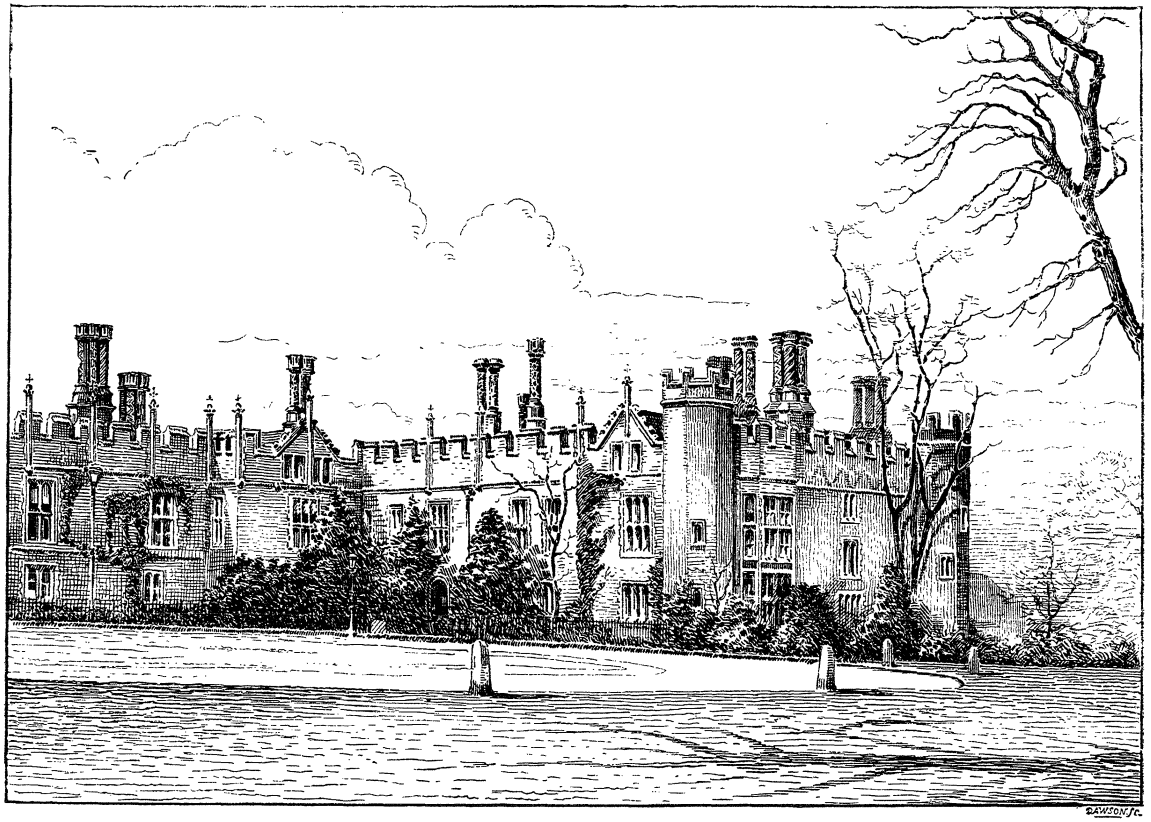
"without speech," and those about her believed she was passing away. In the meanwhile the Council met in an adjoining room, discussing the momentous question of the succession.[1]

What a night was that when the only link that held the conflicting parties together seemed about to snap, and the whole future of England was trembling in the balance!

"At midnight," writes Mr. Froude, on the authority of the Simancas manuscripts,[2] "the fever cooled, the skin grew moist, the spots began to appear, and after four hours of unconsciousness, Elizabeth returned to herself. The Council crowded round the bed. She believed that she was dying: her first words before she had collected her senses were of Lord Robert, and she begged that he might be made Protector of the Realm. As she grew more composed, her mind still running on the same subject, she said she loved Lord Robert dearly, and had long loved him, but she called God to witness that 'nothing unseemly' had ever passed between them. She commended her cousin Lord Hunsdon to the care of the Council, and still in expectation of immediate death, mentioned others of her household for whom she wished provision to be made. She was then left to rest. By the morning the eruption had come out, and the danger was over. The Queen rallied as rapidly as she had sunk, and England breathed again." By the 11th of November she had sufficiently recovered to remove to Somerset Place; and, fortunately, was able to congratulate herself that the disease had left "not many signs in her face."[3]

Mrs. Penn, however, Edward VI.'s old nurse, succumbed, as we have stated on an earlier page,[4] to the disease, and was buried in Hampton Church.

[1] Froude's *History*, vol. vii., p. 429.
[2] *History of England*, vol. vii., p. 430.
[3] Letter to Mary Queen of Scots.—Strickland's *Life of Mary*. *Calendars of State Papers, Foreign*, anno 1562, No. 1053.
[4] Page 197.



South Wing of the West Front of Wolsey's Palace.

CHAPTER XXII.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S PRIVATE LIFE AT HAMPTON COURT.

More Aspirants to the Hand of the Virgin Queen—Melville deputed by Hans Casimir to urge his Suit—He sends his Portrait—Melville shows it to Elizabeth—"Declined with Thanks"—Melville's Colloquies with the Queen—"My Lord Robert's Picture"—The Queen's daily Morning Walk—Her Gardens at Hampton Court—Her Fondness for Dress—Melville's adroit Flattery—She attires herself in a Robe of different Fashion every Day—Vain of her Golden-red Hair—Fishing for Compliments—"Am I not more beautiful than the Queen of Scots?"—Her Delight in Music—Surprised by Melville when playing on the Virginals—Her Musical Instruments—Shows off her Dancing before Melville—His Departure.

SO serious an illness as the one from which Elizabeth had just recovered, might have acted as a warning to anyone less wilful than she was, how necessary it must be for the welfare of her kingdom that she should marry at once and set at rest, in her offspring, the perplexities and doubts of the succession to the crown. Nevertheless, she still continued to reject all suitors for her hand, and Hans Casimir, the eldest son of the Elector Palatine, who, as a Protestant, ventured to be very sanguine of success, fared no better than several other would-be husbands of the Catholic faith.

In answer to his proposal, she sent him an evasive and scarcely encouraging answer; but the duke, determined not

to miss the chance of the greatest match in Europe through any faint-heartedness; and confident in his personal charms, requested Melville, the Queen of Scots' agent, in the spring of the year 1564 on a visit to the Electoral Court, and about to pass through England on his way to Scotland, to convey his portrait to the Virgin Queen. Melville, however, who was convinced that Elizabeth would not entertain the match, only consented to be the bearer of the picture on condition of his being also furnished with those of his father and mother and whole family, and with a diplomatic commission of such a nature that he might be enabled to introduce the subject incidentally, and as if without design.[1]

When the envoy arrived in England, apparently in the month of April, the Queen was at Hampton Court, whither he went to have an audience of her. During their intercourse, Melville, who was an adroit diplomatist, took an opportunity of warmly praising the German Protestant princes, and especially of eulogizing the Elector Palatine. On which the Queen observed that he "had reason to extol that prince, for he (the Prince) had written very favourably of him (Melville), and that he fain would have retained him longer in his service." To this Melville replied, "that he was loath to quit the elector; and to have the better remembrance of him, he had requested to have his picture, with those of his wife, and all his sons and daughters, to carry home to Scotland." "So soon," says Melville, "as she heard me mention the pictures, she enquired if I had the picture of Duke Casimir, desiring to see it." But Melville, prepared with an answer calculated to disarm suspicion, told her he had left the pictures in London, and that he was going on thence at once to Scot-

[1] Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 76, ed. 1752. In this edition the *naïve* Scotch dialect of the gossiping envoy is rendered into more conventional English, which perhaps will be a more acceptable version for the general reader than the original.

land. On this, Elizabeth said that he should not go till she had seen them, and told him to bring them down to her at Hampton Court.

So the next day he delivered them all to her, when she said she desired to keep them all night, and appointed a meeting with him the next morning in her garden, in the meanwhile asking Lord Robert Dudley to give his opinion of the picture of Duke Casimir. His lordship's criticism of his rival was doubtless not over favourable; for when Melville met the Queen on the following morning, "she caused them," says he, "to be delivered all unto me, giving me thanks for the sight of them. I offered unto her Majesty all of the pictures, so she would let me have the old elector's and his lady's (a sly way of trying to get her to retain the portrait of the duke only), but she would have none of them. I had also sure intelligence that first and last, she despised the said Duke Casimir. Therefore I did write back from London to his father and him in cipher, dissuading them to meddle any more in that marriage."[1]

A few months after this,[2] Melville returned to the English Court as the accredited agent of Mary Queen of Scots, who despatched him with the especial object of pacifying Elizabeth, and apologizing for the angry letter she had written when the English Queen had offered her Lord Robert Dudley as a husband. During his stay of nine days, which were mostly spent at Hampton Court, Elizabeth saw him every day, and sometimes three times a day, before noon, in the afternoon, and after supper, and their colloquies frequently turned on the Queen of Scots, with regard to whom Elizabeth was very curious, and for whom she professed the greatest affection. "She expressed a great desire to see her; and because their so-much-to-be-desired

[1] Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 79.

[2] In October.

meeting could not hastily be brought to pass, she appeared with great delight to look upon her Majesty's picture. She took me," continues the envoy, "to her bedchamber, and opened a little cabinet, wherein were divers little pictures wrapped within paper, and their names written with her own hand upon the papers. Upon the first that she took up was written '*My Lord's picture.*' I held the



"My Lord Robert Dudley's Picture."

candle, and pressed to see that picture so named; she appeared loath to let me see it, yet my importunity prevailed for a sight thereof, and I found it to be the Earl of Leicester's picture." Melville then asked her to let him have it to take home with him to his queen, but she refused, alleging that she had but one picture of his; whereupon, he, seeing Leicester at the furthest part of the chamber with Cecil, said to her, "You have here the original!" After that

Elizabeth took out Mary's miniature and kissed it, and Melville kissed her hand as an acknowledgment "of the great love evidenced therein to his mistress." But as it was now late, she made an appointment with him to meet her next morning at eight o'clock.[1]

The place appointed was the garden, where she was accustomed to take every morning, at that hour, a brisk walk, "to catch her a heate in the colde mornings;"[2] though, when the public eye was on her, she was careful not to fall into the vulgarity of quick walking, but "she, who was the very image of majesty and magnificence, went slowly and marched with leisure, and with a certain grandity rather than gravity." Elizabeth, indeed, appears to have been very fond of her gardens at Hampton Court, and had them well kept up and frequently improved.[3]

Visitors in her reign tell us that they were especially noted for the "sundry towers, or rather bowers for places of recreation and solace, and for sundry other uses," which were placed at various points in the gardens; and for "the rosemary so nailed and planted to the walls as to cover them entirely, which is a manner exceeding common in England,"[4] and "laid out with various other plants, which are trained, intertwined and trimmed in so wonderful a manner, and in such extraordinary shapes, that the like could not easily be found."[5] In her reign, also, numerous plants hitherto unknown were introduced. Harrison, in his "Description of

[1] Melville, p. 97.

[2] Sir Thomas Smith, in a letter from Hampton Court to Walsingham at Paris, on Dec. 11th, 1572, gives further evidence of this custom of hers. After describing an interview he had with her that morning, he says, "I thanked her Majesty and came my ways; for she made haste to go a walking with the ladies, because it was a frost."—Digge's *Compleat Ambassador*, p. 300.

[3] *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. xxxix., No. 64, 1566, May 3rd; and *Auditor's Account*, First Book of *Privy Seals*, 26th Eliz.

[4] Hentnzer's *Travels in England.*

[5] Visit of Frederick, Duke of Wirtemburg, in Rye's *England as Seen by Foreigners*, p. 18.

England," says, "If you looke into our gardens annexed to our houses, how wonderfullie is their beautie increased, not onelie with floures and varieties of curious and costlie workmanship, but also with rare and medicinal hearbes sought up in the land within these fortie yeares." And after describing his own garden, he goes on, "If therefore my little plot, void of all art in keeping, be so well furnished, what shall we think of those of Hampton Court, Nonesuch, &c.?"[1]

But there is no occasion to dwell on the aspect of the gardens; their general state and appearance were not much different from what they had been in her father's time, and besides, Bacon, who knew the place well, has given us in his delightful essay the very picture of what they were.

In this interview in the garden, and in various others, which Melville had with Elizabeth during his visit to Hampton Court, every sort of topic was touched upon, Mary having particularly instructed her envoy "to leave matters of gravity sometimes, and cast in merry purposes, lest she should be wearied, she being well informed of that queen's natural temper. Therefore," proceeds he, "in declaring my observations of the customs of Dutchland, Poland and Italy, the buskins of the women were not forgot, and what country weed (dress) I thought best becoming gentlewomen." His sagacity was soon shown not to have been at fault, for Elizabeth, entering readily into the topic, assured him that she had clothes of every sort; and gave proof of it by appearing, thenceforward, every day in dresses of different fashions; one day the French, another the English, another the Italian, and so on, asking him which became her best. Melville, who was a skilful flatterer, answered, in his judgment, the Italian dress, an opinion which, he says, "I found pleased her well, for she delighted to show her golden-

[1] *Description of England* ("New Shakspere Society" reprint), vol. i., p. 332.



QUEEN ELIZABETH IN A FANCY DRESS.

from the Picture at Hamblon Court Palace attributed to Zucchero

coloured hair, wearing a caul and bonnet as they do in Italy. Her hair was more reddish than yellow, curled in appearance naturally."

Her fondness for attiring herself in fantastical dresses is well exemplified by the curious portrait of her painted by Zucchero about this time, and still to be seen at Hampton Court, in which she wears a long loose dress of thin white material, embroidered all over with flowers and birds, and edged with lace. On her head is a high conical cap or head-dress, and she has shoes of blue and white, embroidered with gold, and trimmed with blue braid.[1]

Of her hair, which in all her portraits is carefully crimped and curled, she was particularly vain.

"She next desired to know of me," continues the envoy, "what colour of hair was reputed the best, and whether my queen's hair or hers was best; and which of them was the fairest?" To this he cleverly answered, "The fairness of them both was not their worst fault." But she would not be put off by so ambiguous a compliment, and begged him again to declare which he thought the fairest. Upon which he replied, "You are the fairest queen in England, and mine is the fairest queen in Scotland." But still she was not satisfied. Melville, however, out of loyalty, could not be prevailed upon, even with all his desire to flatter Elizabeth, to give her the preference over his own divine queen, and would only say, "they are both the fairest ladies in their countries; your Majesty is whiter, but my queen is very lovely." After that she enquired "which of them was of the highest stature?" And when he said, "My queen." "Then," said Elizabeth triumphantly, "she is too high, for I myself am neither too high nor too low!" She next asked what exercises she used. "I answered," says the

[1] For further particulars, see the author's *Historical Catalogue*, No. 394.

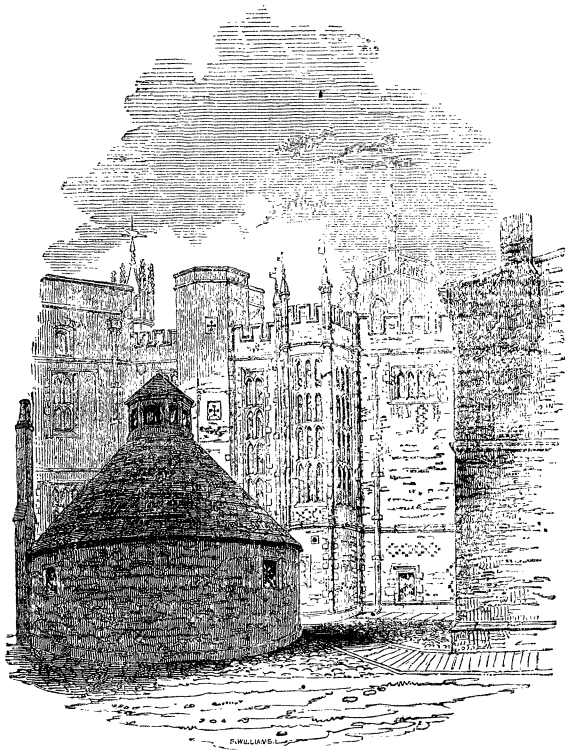
envoy, "that when I received my despatch, the queen was lately come from the Highland hunting: that when her more serious affairs permitted, she was taken up with reading of histories: that sometimes she recreated herself in playing upon the lute and virginals." On which Elizabeth asked "if she played well?" "Reasonably well for a queen," was his discreet reply.[1]

This turn in their conversation seems to have suggested to Elizabeth that she might as well take the opportunity of showing off before Mary's agent her skill in music, an accomplishment of which she was especially vain.

That same day, accordingly, by a carefully-prepared accident, Lord Hunsdon took Melville into a quiet gallery of the palace to hear some music, where, though he said he durst not avow it, they might hear the Queen play upon the virginals. "After I had hearkened awhile," says Melville, "I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was towards the door, I entered within the chamber, and stood a pretty space, hearing her play excellently well; but she left off immediately, so soon as she turned her about and saw me. She appeared to be surprised to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand, alleging that she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary to shun melancholy. She asked me 'how I came there?' I answered, 'as I was walking with my Lord of Hunsdon, as we passed by the chamber-door, I heard such melody as ravished me, whereby I was drawn in, ere I knew how, excusing my fault of homeliness, as being brought up in the Court of France, where such freedom was allowed;' declaring myself willing to endure what kind of punishment her Majesty should be pleased to inflict upon me, for so great an offence. Then she sat down

[1] Melville, p. 99.

low upon a cushion, and I upon my knees by her, but with her own hand she gave me a cushion to lay under my knee, which at first I refused, but she compelled me to take it.



Round Kitchen Court, showing the Bay Window of the Great Hall, and a Window of one of the old Upper Galleries.

She enquired whether my queen or she played best? In that I found myself obliged to give her the praise."

Elizabeth was equally fond of the lute, "on which," says Camden, "she played very handsomely." She and Leicester

were on one occasion found by Norfolk sitting on the floor together in the Privy Chamber, listening to a boy playing on that instrument. Sometimes she used to sing to the ladies and gentlemen of the Court ; and once, after she had been entertaining them in this way at Hampton Court,[1] some of those who had been present fell into a discussion as to the merits of the performance. Most of the company commended it, but Lord Oxford,[2] Burghley's son-of-law, on the contrary, protested, "By the blood of G—, that she had the worst of voyce, and did everything with the worst grace that ever any woman did." This disparaging judgment was reported to the Queen and Council, and Oxford had cause to rue his rash freedom of speech, for it formed one of the charges against him when he was committed to the Tower not long after.

At the same time she loved music for its own sake, as well as for its being a fascinating female accomplishment. For, to whichever of her palaces she went, there were always a great number of musicians in attendance, such as trumpeters, lute-players, harpers, sackbutt and flute-players, and many others, to the number of a hundred, who played while the Queen dined or supped, and on State occasions at banquets, balls, and masquerades.[3] In her own chapel, also, she was very particular that the music should be of the very best. Four sets of singing boys were maintained on the royal establishment, and royal warrants were issued "to take up apt and sweet children" to be instructed in the art of singing, who were carefully trained. Her organist, Dr. Tye, "a peevish and humoursome man," sometimes played in such a fashion that she sent the verger to tell him that he played out of tune, whereupon he sent her word that "her ears were

[1] In 1581.

[2] *State Papers, Foreign*, vol. cli., No. 46.

[3] Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i., pp. 487, 529.

out of tune."[1] At Hampton Court she had a great many musical instruments, among them one entirely of glass, except the strings. She seems to have maintained her predilection for music to the end, for Hawkins declares, in his "History of Music," that "in the hour of her departure she ordered her musicians into her chamber, and died hearing them."[2]

To return to Melville and the Queen. Although he told her he was anxious to get back to Scotland, she insisted on detaining him two days after the interview just described, "that I might," says he, "see her dance, as I was afterwards informed. Which being done, she enquired at once whether she or my queen danced best? I answered, my queen danced not so high or disposedly as she did."

Next morning Melville was conveyed by Leicester in his barge from Hampton Court to London, and, as they were being rowed down the river, Leicester asked him what the Queen of Scots thought of him and of the proposition that he should marry her. "Whereunto I answered," says Melville, "very coldly, as I had been by my queen commanded. Then he began to purge himself of so proud a pretence as to marry so great a queen, declaring that he did not esteem himself worthy to wipe her shoes, and that the invention of that proposition of marriage proceeded from Mr. Cecil, his secret enemy; 'For if I,' said he, 'should have appeared desirous of that marriage, I should have offended both queens, and lost their favour.'"[3]

[1] Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i., p. 293.

[2] *History of Music*, vol. v., p. 201.

[3] Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 101.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE COMMISSIONERS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AT HAMPTON COURT.

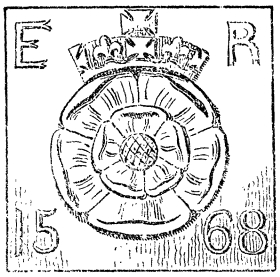
Conference on the Affairs of Mary Queen of Scots—Elizabeth's Jealousy aroused—Mary's Commissioners—La Mothe Fénélon, the French Ambassador, and M. de Châtillon, the Huguenot Envoy, coquettishly received by Elizabeth—The Queen upset in her Coach—Protests of Mary's Commissioners—Artfully entrapped by Cecil—Their Interview with Elizabeth—They withdraw from the Conference, which proceeds "ex parte"—Great Council of Peers summoned at Hampton Court—"The Casket Letters" produced—Unsatisfactory Examination of their Genuineness—Murray and his Associates are dismissed—Requests an Interview with the Duke of Norfolk in the Park—Accepts his good Offices—And afterwards betrays him.

ON the autumn of 1568, when the conference for the trial of the differences between Mary Queen of Scots, now a prisoner in England, and her subjects, had been adjourned from York to London, Elizabeth was residing at Hampton Court, and here a council was summoned on the 30th of October, to decide on what should be the future course of proceedings.[1]

Hitherto Elizabeth seems to have sincerely sympathized with her unfortunate cousin, and to have desired a result

[1] Goodall's *Examination of the Letters said to be written by Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. ii., p. 179.

which might lead to her reconciliation with the rebel lords and her restoration to her throne. But the news which reached her about this time was beginning to work a change in her feelings. She heard with alarm that the excitement among her Catholic subjects was increasing, that the chivalrous interest aroused in the northern counties in Mary's cause was rising to a dangerous pitch, and that the Duke of Norfolk was intriguing to marry her. Cecil immediately took advantage of this mood to further his designs; so that



Carved Stone under Queen Elizabeth's Window in the Privy Garden.

a few days before the Council met he was able to congratulate himself that the Queen of Scots would not "be advanced to greater credit than her cause will deserve," and that the disposition of his mistress was now "rather to put her back than to further her." [1]

The effect of this was at once apparent on the meeting of the Council. It was then determined that Murray should be induced by promise of protection and countenance, to produce his alleged proofs of his Queen's guilt, that at the same time Mary should be informed how desirous Elizabeth was that the investigation "should have some good end;" but

[1] Cecil to Sir H. Sidney, Oct. 22nd, *MSS. Ireland,* Record Office, quoted by Mr. Froude, vol. ix., p. 335.

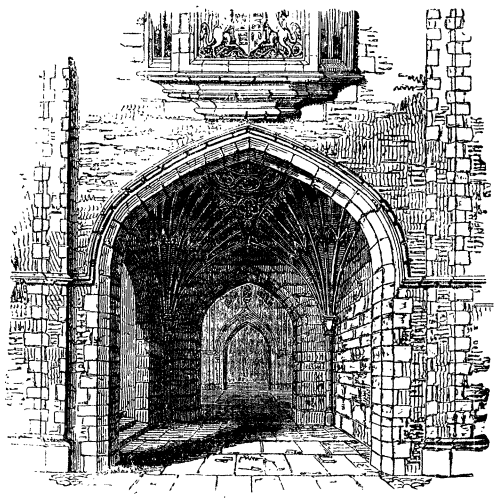
that "because this manner of proceeding cannot be so secretly used, but that knowledge thereof will by some means come to the Queen of Scots," precautions should be taken against her escaping by removing her to Tutbury, a place of great security, as soon as the Regent consented "to show and make proof of the Queen of Scots' guiltiness for the murder of her husband."[1] Accordingly, on the 25th of November, the Conference re-assembled in the Painted Chamber at Westminster,[2] Elizabeth having assured Mary's commissioners, in an audience she gave them at Hampton Court on the 23rd of November, that she meant the proceedings to be in no way judicial, and having chiefly on that plea refused the request they made, on the part of their sovereign, that she might be admitted to be heard in person.[3]

While the conference was holding its sittings in London, and Murray was putting in the accusations against Queen Mary, and while Lennox was appearing, contrary to the understanding, and appealing for judgment against her, and her commissioners, Lord Herries and Bishop Ross, were denouncing this and other breaches of the engagements, Elizabeth remained at her palace in the country, giving audiences to La Mothe Fénélon, the newly-appointed ambassador from the French Court; and to M. le Cardinal de Châtillon, brother of Coligny, the envoy of Condé and the Huguenots, with equal distinction. On his first visit, La Mothe was met with all the customary pomp at the foot of the great stairs, and thence conducted through the Great Hall to the Presence Chamber, where he was ushered before Elizabeth, who was seated in her chair of state. She con-

[1] Goodall's *Examination*, vol. ii., p. 181.
[2] Froude, vol. ix., p. 338.
[3] Goodall's *Examination*, vol. ii., p. 189.
[4] *Dépêches de la Mothe Fénélon*, vol. i., p. 1.

versed with him for upwards of an hour on the state of parties in France and the affairs of Spain and Scotland.

M. de Châtillon, who sought an audience of her a few days after, was received with similar cordiality, though less formality. He found her in the fields hunting; she dismounted, and went with him into a cottage close by, and there they had a long and intimate conference.



Foot of the Great Hall Stairs.

La Mothe's second interview was as unconventional: for he was admitted alone into the Queen's privy chamber, where she received him without ceremony, reclining on a couch in a charming undress,[1] excusing herself by telling him she had had an accident when out driving in her coach. La Mothe was an adroit flatterer and courtier, and soon ingratiated himself with her. He praised her appearance,

[1] La Mothe Fénélon, p. 16.

hinted that all the princes of Europe desired her hand, and listened with becoming interest and composure to her account of Alva's insolence in writing her a familiar letter, which she designated as a "valentine."[1]

But meanwhile Mary's commissioners objecting to the turn the proceedings in the conference were taking, and maintaining that it had been assembled to hear their queen's complaints against Murray and his associates, and not to put her on her trial as a criminal, it was resolved to submit the matter to Elizabeth herself.[2] Mary's commissioners



Queen Elizabeth in her Coach. From Hoefnagle's View of Nonsuch.

accordingly repaired to Hampton Court, on Friday the 3rd of December, and presented a paper to Elizabeth, protesting against the breach of faith of which their mistress had been made the victim by the attitude assumed by Murray, with the connivance of the English commissioners; and demanding that she might be permitted to come in person to meet her accusers face to face, in the presence of Elizabeth and her Council, and before all the world. They spoke with peremptoriness, because they had received an intimation from some private source, "that whether their mistress was

[1] La Mothe Fénélon, p. 27.

[2] Froude, vol. ix., p. 343.

faulty or not faulty, she would be found in fault in the end, and by colour thereof the Queen of England would forsake her."[1] The matter was deemed too weighty to be decided at once, and the answer was deferred till the following day. The commissioners left the palace that evening, and probably slept the night at the inn at Kingston.[2]

Next morning, before entering the palace, they sent a message to Leicester and Cecil, "requiring to speak with them two apart, before they should receive any answer from the Queen's Majesty to their request, delivered the day before, which, with the knowledge of her Majesty, was to them accorded." They met in Leicester's room, where Ross, speaking in the name of the rest, told him that though they were prohibited by their mistress's commands from themselves making any answer to Murray's accusations, and were "only to desire that the Queen of Scots might come in person to the presence of the Queen's Majesty, to make answer thereto, as was contained in their request exhibited yesterday; yet they, having considered with themselves their mistress's intention to have been always, from the beginning, that these causes should be ended by the Queen's Majesty by some good appointment between her and her subjects," wished to know whether her Majesty would agree to some compromise.[3]

[1] Froude, p. 344.

[2] Goodall, vol. ii., p. 221.

[3] Journal of the Privy Council, Goodall, p. 223. Mr. Froude implies that Elizabeth gave her answer on the same day as that on which the protest was handed in, and he represents that Mary's commissioners proposed the above alternative to Leicester and Cecil *after* they had received her answer, insinuating that in so doing they were shrinking from the warning given that "if the Queen of Scots appeared on one side, evidence would be brought forward on the other." But Mary's Register (see Goodall, vol. ii., p. 221) compared with the Journal of the Privy Council, corrected by Cecil's own hand, renders it indisputable that they had not received any answer to the protest when they suggested this alternative.

Then Mr. Froude (vol. ix., p. 343), states that the conference "was adjourned to Hampton Court," and that a session took place there on Dec. 3rd. This is inaccurate. The conference

The imprudence of this step is manifest, and it was seized on with alacrity and adroitness by the Queen and her Council, to whom it was reported. The commissioners were called into the Council Chamber, and made to repeat their proposal, on which Elizabeth, who was seated at the head of the board, proceeded to give her answer. "They were all aware," she said, "how desirous she had always been that this cause should end to her good sister's honour;" therefore, though they suggested a compromise, she, trusting in her sister's innocence, thought it more consistent with her honour that Murray and his accomplices should be compelled to prove, if they could, their allegations against her. They would doubtless fail, and then the queen's reputation would be cleared to all the world, without answer and without compromise. But as to the proposal that she should come in person, this she would not entertain for a moment, as it would lend a colour to the accusation, and she could not consent to have "her dear sister's honour" so far impugned.[1] Bishop Ross hastened to explain that their proposal for a compromise originated entirely with themselves, and without any authority from Mary; but that as Elizabeth refused to agree to it, they could only reiterate their request that their mistress should be permitted to come and answer in person.[2] This was again refused; and, accordingly, at the next sitting of the conference at Westminster, Mary's com-

held no sittings except in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, and the proceedings at Hampton Court were private communications between Mary's commissioners and the Queen in Council as to the course of proceedings—the words of the Register being "in the presence of the Queen's Majestie of Ingland and hir Hienes previe counsal onlie being present, and na utheris."

These criticisms will perhaps be thought captious; and in regard to so great an historian, presumptuous and impertinent. But on a question of such transcendent importance as the reputation of Mary Queen of Scots, every little point is of interest.

[1] Hosack's *Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*, vol. i., p. 425, where the whole question is exhaustively sifted.

[2] Goodall, p. 235.

missioners declared it, so far as they were concerned, to be at an end, and retired. We will not follow the artifices by which, in spite of this, the conference was continued *ex parte*. On the 8th of December, in the Painted Chamber, the celebrated casket was produced by Murray to the English commissioners.[1]

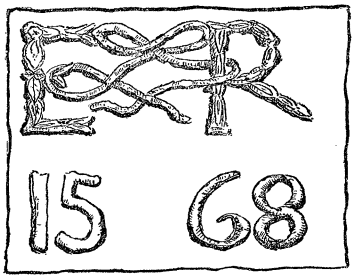
The next step was to summon a great council of peers at Hampton Court, to whom the proceedings of the conference might be declared, and the proofs exhibited. They were the Earls of Westmoreland, Northumberland, Derby, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Huntingdon, and Warwick, and they joined the ordinary members of the Privy Council, such as Sir Nicholas Bacon, Clinton, Leicester, and Cecil. At the first meeting, on December 14th, when the journal and records of the conference had been read, and other formal evidence taken, the fatal contents of the casket were themselves produced. Mary's alleged letters to Bothwell, one long sonnet, and the alleged contract of marriage were produced, and then, according to Cecil, were "duly conferred and compared for the manner of writing and fashion of orthography, with sundry other letters, long since heretofore written and sent by the said Queen of Scots to the Queen's Majesty," and in the collation "no difference found."[2] But the winter's evening was fast closing in, and the proceedings were hastily adjourned till the following day. How far the six great peers who had been summoned were convinced by the proofs submitted to them we do not know, but that unanimity did not prevail we learn from the Spanish ambassador, who

[1] Mr. Thorne, in his *Environs of London*, says the casket was produced at Hampton Court on this date, but see Goodall, vol. ii., p. 256.

[2] Goodall, p. 256. This is the only evidence of the genuineness of the letters ever having been tested; and elsewhere Cecil himself confessed that they lay "altogether on the Council-table, the same were one after another showed by hap, as the same did lie about the table," &c.—Hosack, vol. i., p. 457.

wrote to Philip that some of the members ventured to check the passionate violence of Cecil against Mary.[1] No opinion, at any rate, was expressed by them as to her guilt or innocence. They merely thanked Elizabeth for the confidence she had reposed in them, and stated their opinion that "they did not think it meet for her Majesty's honour to admit the said queen to her presence as the case did stand."[2]

Thus terminated these proceedings in as unsatisfactory and abortive a manner as could be imagined for the cause of truth and justice, but not inconvenient for Elizabeth and



Carved Stone on Queen Elizabeth's Window.

her advisers. The ensuing month was occupied by incessant negotiations between Elizabeth and Mary's commissioners.[3] First, she urged that Mary should answer the accusation against her, at the same time refusing to allow her to do so in person. Next, she promised that if she would confirm her abdication, and throw herself on her protection, she would befriend her. But when both these offers were refused, and Mary, on the contrary, persisted in her demand to be allowed to defend herself in person, and requested a

[1] Hosack, vol. i., p. 457.
[2] Froude, vol. ix., p. 348.
[3] See Froude's *History*, vol. ix., p. 349 *et seq.*

view of, or at least copies of, the evidence produced against her, Elizabeth summoned Murray and his associates to Hampton Court, and told them, through Cecil, that as nothing had been produced against them, and "as on their part *they had seen nothing sufficiently produced nor shown against the Queen their Sovereign, whereby the Queen of England should conceive or take any evil opinion of the Queen her good sister for anything yet seen*," she gave them leave to depart.[1] On the 13th of January, 1569, Murray accordingly left for Scotland, with the casket and the letters, and a present from Elizabeth of £5,000.[2]

But before his departure he had an interview in Hampton Court Park with the Duke of Norfolk. The project for the marriage of Mary to the duke had been secretly discussed between them during the sittings of the conference at York. But when the adjournment to London took place, consequent on this intrigue being brought to the knowledge of Elizabeth, the idea was dropped for the time; and perhaps Norfolk was partly in earnest in assuring Elizabeth, when she mentioned the rumours, "that no reason could move him to like her that had been a competitor for the English crown; and if her Majesty herself would move him to it, he would rather be committed to the Tower, for he never meant to marry with such a person, where he could not be sure of his pillow"—alluding to the fate of Darnley. But when the Regent renewed his proposals at this meeting, he was again tempted, after a few words of protest against Murray's conduct towards Mary, which Murray dismissed by vehement protestations of affection for his sister, to entertain the project once more. With Murray, however, it was merely a pretext, for he had an entirely different object in seeking this interview. He states it with frank cynicism

[1] Goodall, vol. ii., p. 305.

[2] Hosack, p. 481.

in a letter nine months after to Elizabeth: "It being whispered and showed to me," says he, "that if I departed, he (the duke) standing discontented and not satisfied, I might peradventure find such trouble in my way as my throat might be cut before I came to Berwick, and therefore since it might well enough appear that he aspired to her marriage, I should not put him in utter despair that my goodwill cannot be had therein," he therefore thought it best to see him, and flatter him with hopes.[1] He entirely succeeded in his object, and orders were sent to the northern counties, whose hostility he dreaded, that he might have a safe passage through them. Norfolk would seem to have had some misgivings as to the dangerous ground he was treading on. "Earl Murray," said he, as they parted at the postern gate, "thou hast Norfolk's life in thy hands"—an ominously prophetic phrase, which Murray did not fail to verify when, in the following October, he betrayed all that had passed to Elizabeth.

[1] Mr. Froude says, "Murray consented to an interview with Norfolk." But Norfolk's own statement quoted above shows the interview was of his own seeking.—Hosack's *Mary Queen of Scots*, vol. i., p. 480, &c.

CHAPTER XXIV.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S CHRISTMAS FESTIVITIES.

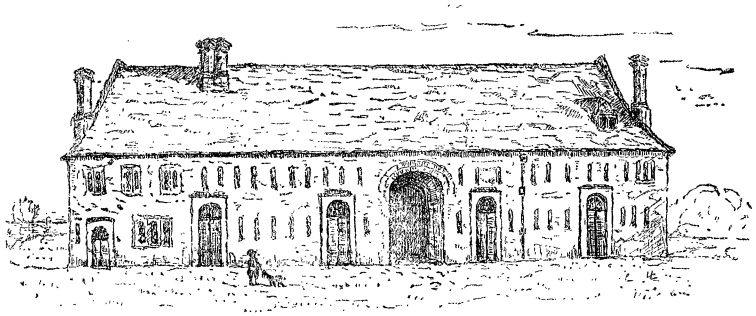
Queen Elizabeth's Visits to the Palace—Her Portrait by Lucas da Heere—The Queen's New Stables—Her Coaches—Her Journeys to and from the Palace—Her Barge—Falls ill of the Small-pox a Second Time—Leicester sits by her Bedside—Christmas Festivities—Elizabeth's Love of Gaiety, Pageantry, and Good Cheer—Banquets, Balls, Masquerades, Revels, Masques, and Plays—The Theatre in the Great Hall—The Stage Appliances, Scenic Effects, Dresses, and Properties—Illumination of the Roof of the Hall—Ambassadors from France and the Netherlands—Plays at Hampton Court in 1576—New Year's Gifts to the Queen—Profuse Hospitality at Court—Inscriptions in a Room in the Fish Court.

AFTER the events narrated in our last chapter, until the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign, but few events of much historic interest took place at Hampton Court. For, though her Majesty continued to pass some weeks of almost every year at the old palace, her visits were usually made during the intervals of political calm, when she wished for privacy and quiet, or sought relaxation from the cares of state in the gaieties and festivities of Christmas-tide.

To specify all the particular occasions when Hampton Court rejoiced in the royal presence would be to give but little more than a tedious list of dates. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with glancing rapidly over the concluding

years of this reign, only dwelling on such topics as may serve to illustrate the sort of life led by the Queen and her Court at the palace.

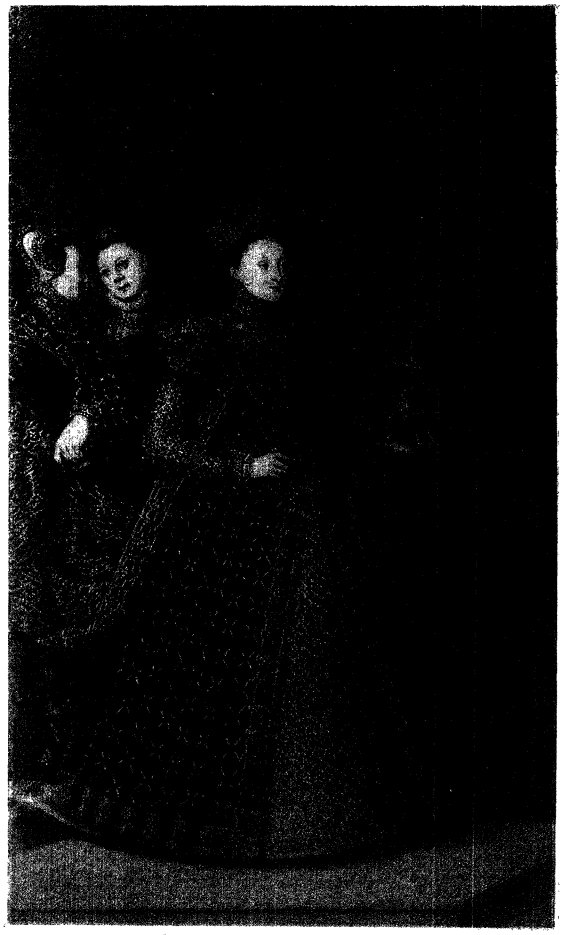
Elizabeth appears to have been residing here in the autumn of the year 1569, while the rebellion of the Duke of Norfolk and his adherents was in progress in the north. And it was just before her arrival that the curious allegorical picture, now at Hampton Court, was finished, in which the three goddesses, Juno, Minerva, and Venus, are represented



Queen Elizabeth's Stables, facing Hampton Court Green.

as thunderstruck with the power, wisdom, and beauty of the Virgin Queen. She is seen stepping from the throne-room, looking every inch a queen, with the imperial crown of England on her brow, her sceptre in one hand and the orb of empire in the other. She was at this time thirty-six years of age, and still in the prime of her beauty; and her magnificent dress, though overlaid with pearls and jewels, is in far better taste than in the subsequent part of her reign. Altogether, it is certainly the most pleasing portrait of Queen Elizabeth extant.[1]

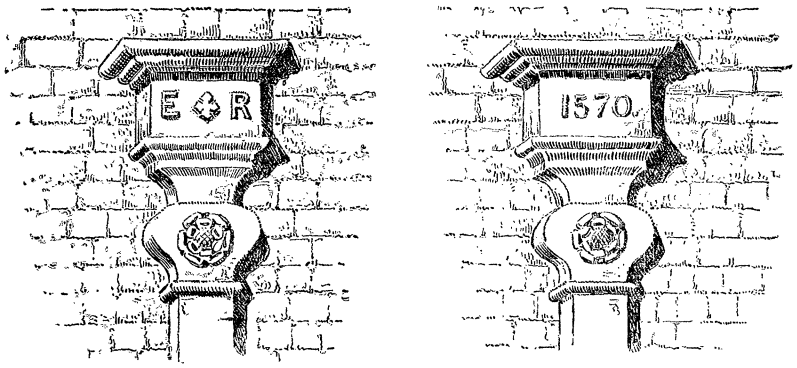
[1] Curiously enough this interesting picture has never been engraved. For further particulars see the *Historical Catalogue*, No. 635.



QUEEN ELIZABETH AT THE AGE OF THIRTY-SIX.

From the Allegorical Picture, at Hampton Court Palace, painted by Lucas da Heere in 1569, and affording the best and most flattering likeness of the Queen extant.

The Court would seem to have remained here through the greater part of the following winter and spring[1]—a period to which is to be referred the building of Queen Elizabeth's stables or coachhouses, adjoining to Wolsey's on the Green, ever since known as the "Queen's Stables." The date of their completion is ascertained by the old leaden water-spouts affixed to the walls, and it is not improbable that they were built to accommodate the coaches, then



Old Leaden Water-Spouts on Queen Elizabeth's Stables.

newly introduced into England, in which the Queen henceforth travelled on her progresses, instead of the old-fashioned waggons, or on horseback. Further accommodation, also, must have been wanted on account of the enormous quantities of luggage and paraphernalia with which the Queen journeyed from place to place, and which were carried in carts, requisitioned from the neighbouring counties, "whereby," says Harrison, "it cometh to pass that when the Queen's Majesty doth remove from any one place to another, there are usually

[1] Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i., pp. 263, 274, &c. Wright's *Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. i., p. 365.

400 carewares (carry-wares?), which amount to the sum of 2,400 horses!" [1]

Her journeys, however, between Hampton Court and her palaces at Oatlands, Richmond, Whitehall, and Greenwich, were often performed by the river Thames. Her barge, which was kept at the stairs of the Water Gallery, was, as we might suppose, very prettily decorated, being hung with garlands of flowers, and having a canopy of green sarcenet, worked with an embroidered pattern of branches of eglantine, and powdered with golden daisies.

Elizabeth was again at Hampton Court in July, 1571, and in September, 1572,[2] when, according to her biographer, her Majesty, who "had hitherto enjoyed her health very perfectly (for she never did eat meat but when her appetite served her, nor drink wine without some allaying) fell sick of the small-pox." [3] For a few days her condition was such as to excite some apprehension, and Leicester took upon himself to sit up by her bedside all night [4] nursing her. But the symptoms soon passed off, before it was even known that she was ill. As soon as she was well enough to move, she went to Windsor, and from there wrote the following account of her sickness:—

> True it is, that we were about 12 days past distempered as commonly happeneth in the beginning of a fever; but after two or three days, without any great inward sickness, there began to appear certain red spots in some parts of our face, likely to prove the small-pox; but, thanked be God, contrary to the expectation of our physicians, and all others about us, the same so vanished away, as within four or five days passed, no token almost appeared; and at

[1] *Description of England* (New Shakspere Society), vol. i.

[2] Digges' *Compleat Ambassador*, pp. 112 and 115.

[3] Camden's *Elizabeth.*

[4] "Her Majesty hath been very sick this night," writes Sir Thomas Smith, "so that my Lord of Leicester did watch with her all night."

this day, we thank God, we are free from any token or mark of any such disease that none can conjecture any such thing.[1]

By the end of the year Elizabeth was back at her palace of Hampton Court, whence Sir Thomas Smith writes to Walsingham: "If you would know what we do here, we play at tables, dance, and keep Christmas."[2]

At no period in the history of England was Christmas celebrated with more joviality and rejoicing than during the reign of Elizabeth; and nowhere with more magnificent festivities and with more profuse hospitality than at the Queen's Court. Possessing in a pre-eminent degree the old English love of gaiety, pageantry, and good cheer, her Majesty entered with earnestness and delight into all the national sports and pastimes, and endeavoured by her example to foster them among her subjects. A true child, too, of the Renaissance, she ever felt a hearty sympathy with all the brighter and more romantic aspects of life—being entirely undefiled by the taint of that sour and morose Puritanism, and that morbid introspectiveness, which were already infecting so many of her subjects, and were destined in the reigns of her successors to stamp out for ever from the English character so much of its former freshness, heartiness, and joyousness.

Consequently, Christmas-time at Hampton Court—which, with its Great Hall, long galleries, vast reception rooms, and eight or nine hundred bedrooms, was better adapted for entertainments at this festive season than any other of the royal palaces—was one long series of banquets, balls, masquerades, masques, revels, plays, sports, and pastimes. The banquets sometimes took place in the Hall, and sometimes in the adjoining Great Watching Chamber; after which the

[1] *Progresses of Elizabeth*, vol. i., p. 322.

[2] Digges' *Compleat Ambassador*, p. 310, and *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 239.

company retired to the Withdrawing Room, and the minstrels began to play: when

My grave Lord Keeper led the brawls,

and the Court and the guests might enjoy the inestimable privilege of witnessing her Majesty dance a coranto or galliard.

On other nights there were masquerades or games; and in the daytime tilting and tennis matches, shooting and hunting parties, and the many sports and games of merry old England.

But the chief amusements of the Court were the masques and plays, which enlivened almost every night from Christmas Eve to Twelfth Night, and which were presented with the greatest magnificence in the Great Hall of the palace—a fact enduing that room with a very special interest as the only surviving Elizabethan theatre in England. The "Accounts of the Revels at Court"[1] contain a number of particulars relating to the performances at Hampton Court, affording us valuable indications of the "mounting" of dramatic entertainments at this period. The entries relating to the carpenters', carvers', and joiners' works, which were taken in hand many days previous to the holidays, conclusively prove—contrary to the too prevalent notion—that the scenic effects in the Elizabethan drama were of a most elaborate, realistic, and gorgeous kind. The stage, which was erected at the lower end of the hall in front of the "screens" and minstrel gallery, was composed of strong scaffolding, posts, rafters, and screens, "having also apt houses made of canvas, framed and painted accordingly as might serve their several purposes." For instance, there were charges in regard to some of the plays for "painting

[1] Published by the Shakespeare Society, and edited by Mr. P. Cunningham.

of seven cities, one village, and one country-house," and for bringing into the Court trees to represent a wilderness.

Nor could the players complain that they were denied any convenience; for the pantry, behind the "screens" at the lower end of the hall, was set apart as a "tyring-room," or green room; and the Great Watching Chamber at the upper end put at their disposal for rehearsals. In relation to this we may note the purchase of candles to light that room, and of coals and faggots for the fire;[1] and the payment of fees to Nicholas Newdigate, gent., "for his pains in hearing and training the boys that should speak," and for rehearsing the dances.

We find, also, that there was a wardrobe department,[2] to which was entrusted the "airing, repairing, amending, brushing, spunging, rubbing, wiping, sweeping, cleaning, putting in order, folding, laying up and safe bestowing of the garments, vestures, apparel, disguisings, properties, and furniture which else would be mouldy, musty, moth-eaten and rotten."

Then there were the tailors, haberdashers, buskin-makers, upholsterers, and silk-weavers, all of whom were busily occupied in making dresses and properties, such as wings, hair, snowballs, vizors, wands, counterfeit fruit, fish, and flowers, and many other articles, showing the scrupulous attention given to theatrical details.

The lighting of so large an auditorium as the Hall naturally presented some difficulties; but they were cleverly overcome by stretching wires across the open roof from the beams on one side to those on the other, and hanging from them small oil lamps.[3] The effect of this method of illumi-

[1] Cunningham's *Revels*, p. 39.

[2] Do., p. 163, &c.

[3] Some of the items are, "Wyre to strayne crosse the Hall," "Vyces to draw the wyers tighte whereon the lightes did hang crosse the hall."—Do., pp. 70, 72, &c.

nation was that, instead of a glare of torches and candles on a level with the eye, a soft and diffused glow was reflected all over the Hall from the gilded rafters and tracery of the roof. At the same time, high up on the walls there were silver sconces with candles; and "candlesticks with perfumes to burn at the end of the matches."[1]

Such were the arrangements for the presenting of the masques and plays at Hampton Court during the Christmas of 1572. Similar festivities, doubtless, took place at the end of 1575; when Elizabeth, in addition to her usual guests, was entertaining at this palace ambassadors both from France and from the Netherlands. The embassy from the Netherlands was that famous one, which came to offer her the sovereignty of the Low Countries—a compliment which probably perplexed as much as it pleased her —"her Majesty," as we are told by a gentleman who was staying at Hampton Court, "being troubled with these causes, which maketh her very melancholy, and seemeth greatly to be out of quiet."[2]

By the next Christmas-tide, however, she was thoroughly herself again, and diverted with a series of six plays, beginning on St. Stephen's night with the "Painter's Daughter," "enacted by the Earl of Warwick's servants," followed on St. John's Day by "Toolie," by Lord Howard's servants, and on the succeeding Sunday by the "History of the Collyer, enacted by the Earl of Leicester's men."[3] The next entry is—

> The historie of Error showen at Hampton Court on New Year's Day at night, enacted by the Children of Powles—

a play which, it has been conjectured,[4] may have served as

[1] Cunningham's *Revels*, p. 63.

[2] Francis Lord Talbot to his father the Earl of Shrewsbury.—Nichols' *Progresses*, &c., vol. ii., p. 3.

[3] Cunningham's *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court* (Shakespeare Society), p. 101.

[4] Collier's *Annals of the Stage.*

the foundation of Shakespeare's "Comedy of Errors." On "Twelf daie at night," the History of Mutius Sceuola was shown.

The very next Christmas-tide, also, was kept by the Queen at Hampton Court; and in regard to this visit there is preserved the list of "New Year's Gifts" that were exchanged between the Queen and her subjects. Not only did these courtesies pass between Elizabeth and the courtiers always about her person, but all the great people of the State, whether in office or not, and whether resident at or absent from Court, were expected to contribute some substantial offering. The list, which opens with the names of the Queen's relatives, Lady Margaret Lennox and Lady Mary Grey, is arranged under headings, beginning with the great Officers of State, then Dukes and Duchesses, Marquises, Earls, and so on, down to the humblest gentlemen in the household.[1] The presents consisted of various articles of use and ornament; but especially of magnificent dresses and jewellery, and to a great extent of gold coin. Thus, the Countess of Derby gave her Majesty "a petticoat of white satin raised, and edged with a broad embroidery of divers colours;" Leicester a magnificent "carcanet of gold, enamelled, garnished with sparks of diamonds and rubies, and pendants of pearls;" and the Lord Treasurer Burleigh a purse with £30. In this manner Elizabeth received every year presents to the value of something like £10,000! It is true that she, on her part, gave gifts in return; but as they were chiefly small silver-gilt articles, of a value quite out of proportion to those she received, her bargain was a good one, and she remained with something like £8,000 to the good.

The entertainment of all those regularly attached to the

[1] Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii., p. 81.

Court, together with the number of great personages, with their retainers and servants, who flocked to the palace to partake of the hospitality of the Queen at these festive seasons, involved an enormous outlay for the supply of food. Every day waggon-loads of provisions of all sorts were brought into the Court. The Queen's own "Book of Diet" enumerates tons upon tons of butter, eggs, milk, cheese, and other farm produce; some twenty varieties of fish; countless barrels of beer and hogsheads of wine; and every sort of poultry and game—venison, hares, rabbits, partridges, pheasants, teals, snipe, larks, dulcetts, capons, chickens—that were supplied by the purveyors to her Majesty. When we find that the sum total of the charges for the eating and drinking in the royal palace, during the whole year, amounted to upwards of £80,000[1] of the then currency, £30,000 of which was on account of the privy table, and that this enormous sum (which, considering the cheapness of provisions at that time, would represent at least £400,000) was exclusive of surcharges at Christmas, and other feasts, we can form some idea of the profuse hospitality of Queen Elizabeth's Court.

Suggestive of the good cheer prevailing at the palace, is an entry in the Crown Accounts about this time, for "making of new hearths in the Great Kitchen at Hampton Court, for boyling of brawnes against Christmas."[2] And in one of the small offices already spoken of,[3] abutting on the picturesque "Fish Court," there are some other memorials of the culinary preparations of the olden time, in the form of rough inscriptions, cut doubtless by the cooks then in the royal service, at the side of the enormous arched fireplace, near one of the original Tudor ovens.

[1] Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii., p. 47.

[2] Jesse's *Summer's Day at Hampton Court*, p. 128.

[3] *Ante*, p. 151.



The Fish Court.

After the festivities of the Christmas 1577-1578 were over, Elizabeth seems to have prolonged her stay at the palace for a couple of months;[1] and it was apparently one



Inscriptions in one of the Offices in the Fish Court.

day, at this time, when standing at a window of the palace, overlooking the park, that she saw a gentleman approach escorted by two hundred attendants on horseback. Turning

[1] She was here on February 19th, when Dr. James, Dean of Christchurch, preached before her in the chapel, on Ezra iv. 1-3, a sermon which was afterwards published.—Nichols' *Progresses*, &c., vol. ii.

to her courtiers, she asked, with some surprise, who it might be. When informed it was Sir Henry, the father of Sir Philip Sidney, her Lord Deputy of Ireland and President of Wales, she answered: "And he may well do it, for he has two of the best offices in my kingdom." [1]

[1] Aikin's *Memoirs of the Court of Elizabeth.*

CHAPTER XXV.

HAMPTON COURT DURING THE LATTER PART OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

Elizabeth's New Fountain in the Clock Court—Hunting Parties—The Duke of Wirtemberg hunts the Red Deer—His Visit to Hampton Court—His Description of the Palace—The Gardens, Courts, and State Rooms—The Splendour of the Queen's Furniture—Robert Carey's arrival at Hampton Court—His Interview with Elizabeth—Thomas Churchyard's "Pleasant Conceit"—Burglary in one of the Tilt-Yard Towers—Plot of the Queen's Physician, Dr. Lopez, to poison her Majesty—An Inquiry instituted—Essex in the Sulks—Elizabeth makes Atonement—Hentzner's Account of the Palace—The Chapel, Hall, Presence Chambers, and the Room called "Paradise"—Elizabeth's Appearance in her Old Age—Her last Sojourn at Hampton Court—She rides through Kingston—Her Death.

BETWEEN the years 1578 and 1588 we have nothing of moment to record in the annals of Hampton Court Palace.[1] But about 1589, Queen Elizabeth, so we are informed by Norden, the topographer, "caused a very beautiful fountain to be erected in the second court, which graceth this palace, and serveth to great and necessary use." The fountain was

[1] In January, 1579, John Casimir, Count Palatine of Rhene and Duke of Bavaria, hunted in Hampton Court Park.—Nichols' *Progresses*, &c., vol. ii., p. 277. The Queen was here in 1580, and also in 1582, when she passed through Kingston "to take the diversion of coursing."—Do., vol. ii., p. 392.

finished in *anno* 1590, not without great charge."[1] By the "Second Court," Norden of course means the area now called the Clock Court, in which, as we have previously stated, Henry VIII. had put up a fountain decorated with many heraldic beasts and vanes. Queen Elizabeth's fountain was of a more magnificent design, consisting of a statue of Justice supported on columns of black and white marble,[2] and it was much admired by foreigners visiting the palace. For instance, Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, who travelled in England in 1592, notices in his diary, as standing in one of the courts, "a splendid, high and massy fountain, with a waterwork, by which you can, if you like, make the water play upon the ladies and others who are standing by, and give them a thorough wetting."[3]

The visit of the Duke of Wirtemberg, when he noticed the newly erected fountain, took place in 1592, on the 21st of August of which year he came over from Windsor Castle to inspect the palace. On his way he was entertained with shooting and hunting red deer in the numerous parks in this vicinity, which he declared to number no less than sixty, "all full of game of various kinds, and they are so contiguous that, in order to have a glorious and royal sport, the animals can be driven out of one enclosure into another, and so on; all which enclosures are encompassed by fences."

Queen Elizabeth, who inherited from her father an ardent

[1] Norden's *Speculum Britanniæ*, p. 25.

[2] In the Crown Accounts for the year 1591 occurs a payment for "casting a metal Justice, and carving the same for the New Fountain at Hampton Court."—Jesse's *Summer's Day at Hampton Court*, p. 129. Queen Elizabeth's fountain was removed by William III., who substituted a new fountain in the present "Fountain Court," on the site of the old "Cloister Green Court."

[3] Rye's *England as Seen by Foreigners*, p. 19. Hentzner mentions as being at Whitehall a similar "jet-d'eau, with a sun-dial, which, while strangers are looking at, a quantity of water, forced by a wheel, which the gardener turns at a distance, through a number of little pipes, plentifully sprinkles those that are standing around."

love of stag-hunting, often shared in the sports provided for the entertainment of her guests at Hampton Court, and shot the deer with her own bow. But though a thoroughly keen sportswoman, she always associated with the day's hunting something of the romantic pageantry, with which she loved to invest every action of her life. For instance, we read on one occasion of "a delicate bower being prepared, under the which were her Highness' musicians placed, and a cross-bow by a nymph, with a sweet song, delivered to her hands to shoot at the deer." [1] And there is record of her going out "to hunt the hart," in her younger days, attended by twelve ladies in white satin on ambling palfreys, and a large retinue of gentlemen, dressed "in russet damask and blue embroidered satin, tasselled and spangled with silver, with bonnets of cloth of silver, with green feathers;" and of her being met, on entering the chase, by fifty archers, also in green, with scarlet boots and yellow caps, with gilded bows, who presented her a silver-headed arrow, winged with peacocks' feathers.[2]

At the same time, more practical matters were not overlooked; and some convenient place in a shady wood was usually chosen, near a stream, where the party might sit down to have luncheon.[3]

On the occasion, however, of the Duke of Wirtemberg's visit, her Majesty was away, and he had to go out hunting without her company. But he was thoroughly well pleased with his day's sport. In his diary he gives a vivid account of the run: "In one of the parks his Highness shot two fallow deer, one with a gun, the other with an English cross-bow; the latter deer we were obliged to follow a very long

[1] Shirley's *Deer and Deer Parks*, p. 40, in which are reproduced the quaint engravings from Gascoyne's *Book of Hunting*, of Queen Elizabeth at luncheon, out hunting, &c.

[2] Nichols' *Progresses*, vol. i

[3] Shirley's *Deer and Deer Parks*, p. 41.

while, until at length a stray track or blood hound, as they are called, by its wonderful quality and peculiar nature, singled out the deer from several hundred others, and pursued it so long, till at last the wounded deer was found on one side of a brook, and the dog, quite exhausted, on the other; and the stag, which could go no farther, was taken by huntsmen, and the hounds feasted with its blood."

By this time the party were close to Hampton Court, and after taking "some cold meat in a fine English farmhouse, his Highness was conducted to see the grand and truly beautiful royal palace called Hampton Court," his impressions of which we will give in his own words:—

"Now this is the most splendid and most magnificent royal palace of any that may be found in England, or, indeed, in any other kingdom. It comprises ten different large courts,[1] and as many separate royal and princely residences, but all connected; together with many beautiful gardens, both for pleasure and ornament—some planted with nothing but rosemary; others laid out with various other plants, which are trained, intertwined, and trimmed in so wonderful a manner, and in such extraordinary shapes, that the like could not easily be found. In short, all the apartments and rooms in this immensely large structure are hung with rich tapestry, of pure gold and fine silk, so exceedingly beautiful and royally ornamented that it would hardly be possible to find more magnificent things of the kind in any other place. In particular, there is one apartment belonging to the Queen, in which she is accustomed to sit in state, costly beyond everything; the tapestries are garnished with gold, pearls, and precious stones—one table-cover alone is

[1] Only five of the courts—namely, the First Court, Clock Court, Cloister Green Court, Chapel Court, and Round Kitchen Court—can be properly called *large;* the other five are small courts, such as the Master Carpenter's, Fish, and Back Courts, views of all of which we have given.

valued at above fifty thousand crowns—not to mention the royal throne, which is studded with very large diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and the like, that glitter among other precious stones and pearls as the sun among the stars.

"Many of the splendid large rooms are embellished with masterly paintings, writing tables inlaid with mother-of-pearl, organs, and musical instruments, which her Majesty is particularly fond of. Among other things to be seen there, are life-like portraits of the wild man and woman whom Martin Frobisher, the English captain, took in his voyage to the New World, and brought alive to England.[1]

"Now, as we have already said, the royal castle of Windsor is constructed entirely of free-stone, so is this beautiful palace wholly built of brick. His Highness having taken a drink in the garden, in company with the keeper of the palace, who was a nobleman, took the road again towards London."[2]

Similar testimony to the splendour of Hampton Court in Queen Elizabeth's reign is borne by the French ambassador. "I have seen," wrote he, "in the palaces of Windsor and Hampton Court, but especially at the latter, more riches and costly furniture than I ever did see, or could have imagined."[3] And Bohun, in his "Character of Queen Elizabeth,"[4] is equally emphatic on this point. "In the furniture of her royal palaces," says he, "she ever affected magnificence and an extraordinary splendour; she adorned the galleries with excellent pictures, done by the best artists; the walls she covered with rich tapestries. She was a true lover of jewels and pearls, all sorts of precious stones, plate, plain, bossed of gold and silver, and gilt; rich beds, fine coaches and chariots, Persian and Indian carpets, statues,

[1] See Mr. Rye's note.
[2] Rye's *England*, p. 19.
[3] *Dépêches de la Mothe Fénélon*, June, 1572.
[4] P. 341.

medals, &c., which she would purchase at great prices. The specimen of her rich furniture, which was moveable, was to be seen a long time after her death, at Hampton Court, above any of the other royal houses in her times. And here she had caused her naval victories obtained against the Spaniards, to be represented in excellent tapestries, and laid up amongst the richest pieces of her wardrobe."

In the winter following the Duke of Wirtemberg's visit, the Court was again at Hampton Court, where Christmas was celebrated with all the usual festivities. In the midst of them Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth, who had deeply offended Queen Elizabeth in transgressing her favourite prejudice by perpetrating matrimony, arrived at the palace. He had been employed on a mission to the King of Scots; but, on account of his infraction of Elizabeth's court code, had not been allowed an interview with her before setting out on his errand. On his return, however, he was determined, come what might, to be admitted into the presence of his sovereign and obtain her pardon. How he managed this he tells us in his "Memoirs,"[1] affording us a curious picture of the sort of romantic relations that subsisted between Elizabeth and her courtiers. "I made all haste I could to Court, which was then at Hampton Court. I arrived there on St. Stephen's Day, in the afternoon. Dirty as I was, I came into the presence, where I found the lords and ladies dancing. The Queen was not there. My father went to the Queen to let her know that I was returned. She willed him to take my message or letters, and bring them to her. He came for them; but I desired him to excuse me, for that which I had to say I must deliver myself. I could neither trust him, nor much less any other therewith. He acquainted her Majesty with my resolution. With much

[1] P. 61. Ed. 1808.

ado I was called for in : and I was left alone with her. Our first encounter was stormy and terrible, which I passed over with silence. After she had spoken her pleasure of me and my wife, I told her that 'she herself was the fault of my marriage, and that if she had but graced me with the least of her favours, I had never left her nor her Court; and seeing she was the chief cause of my misfortune, I would never off my knees till I had kissed her hand, and obtained my pardon.' She was not displeased with my excuse, and before we parted we grew good friends. Then I delivered my message and my papers, which she took very well, and at last gave me thanks for the pains I had taken. So having her princely word that she had pardoned and forgotten all faults, I kissed her hand, and came forth from the presence, and was in the Court as I was ever before."[1]

The Christmas of the next year, 1593, found Elizabeth again at Hampton Court—a visit which is notable for : "A Pleasant Conceite, penned in verse, collourably sette out, and humbly presented, on New-Yeere's Day to the Queene's Majestie at Hampton Courte; anno Domini 1593-4," by Thomas Churchyard the poet, in sign and token, as he declared, "of her gracious goodness towards me oftentimes, and chiefly now for my pension."[2]

The piece, which is not of much poetic merit, describes a number of the ladies of the Court, under the names of the towns and places which they bore. A stanza may serve as a specimen of the rest :—

PEMBROKE a pearle, that orient is of kind,
A *Sidney* right, shall not in silence sit :
A gemme more worth, then all the gold of Ind,
For she enjoyes the wise Minerva's wit,

[1] Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. iii., p. 216.

[2] Do., vol. iii., p. 232.

And sets to school our poets everywhere :
That do presume, the laurell crowne to weare.
The Muses Nine, and all the Graces Three
In *Pembroke's* bookes, and verses shall ye see.

One of the concluding stanzas is as follows :—

These Townes and all the People dwelling there,
And all the rest, that love their country well:
And all true harts, and subjects ev'ry where,
That feare their God, and doe in England dwell,
Salute with joy, and gladnes this new yeere,
Our gracious Queene and Soveraigne Lady deere.

After the Christmas and New-Year's festivities were over, the Court still tarried at Hampton Court for some weeks; and while here a great sensation was caused in the palace by a daring robbery of plate and other articles on the 2nd of February. The occurrence was reported to Francis Bacon by Standen, a correspondent of his at Court :—

Bryan Annesley, Francis Hervey, James Crofts and John Parker, all four gentlemen pensioners, three days agone, were robbed, and in their absences at six o'clock at night their chamber-door, which is in one of the five towers of the Tilt Yard, was broken open, and all their trunks likewise, out of all of which the thieves took and carried away of jewels and ready money, from these four, to the value of £400, and no news heard of them since.[1]

The principal delinquent, however, was afterwards found to be a man named John Randall, who was promptly hanged for his crime.[2]

At the same time there was a great stir at Court among the Queen's more intimate advisers in regard to the atrocious plot of her Spanish Jew physician, Dr. Lopez, to murder her, at the instigation of the Governor of the Netherlands,

[1] Birch's *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i., p. 154.

[2] His accessaries were pardoned.—*State Papers* (*Domestic*), vols. ccl., No. 2, and ccli., No. 50.

by mixing poison with her medicine. The conspiracy was detected by her favourite, Essex; and the investigation, which the Queen ordered to be made into it by him, Burleigh, and Sir Robert Cecil, was partly carried on at Hampton Court. So weighty a matter could not but oppress even the astute and practised ministers of Queen Elizabeth. "Sir Robert," says Standen, writing to Bacon from Hampton Court, "goeth and cometh very often between London and the Court, so that he comes out with his hands full of papers and his head full of matter, and so occupied passeth through the presence like a blind man, not looking upon any."[1] The result of the preliminary inquiry was to lead the Cecils to imagine that the accusation was unfounded; whereon Elizabeth, who was still at Hampton Court, sent for Essex into her privy chamber, and angrily upbraiding him for bringing, on insufficient grounds, so horrible an accusation against an innocent man, called him "a rash, temerarious youth." Essex left the presence of his royal mistress in a passion, and shut himself up in his own room at Hampton Court, sullenly refusing to show himself for two or three days, until Elizabeth by repeated apologies and coaxing messages had "atoned" for the affront.[2] A more substantial vindication was afterwards afforded him by the successful demonstration of Lopez' guilt, and the expiation of his treason on the scaffold.

From this time forward to the end of Elizabeth's reign we find scarcely any further references to Hampton Court; her Majesty, in the last eight years of her life, seldom residing here. All visitors to England, however, continued to direct their first steps towards this famous palace, and to extol its beauties above those of all the other residences of the Queen of England. Among the more accurate and

[1] Birch's *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i., p. 155.

[2] Do., vol. i., p. 150.

observant of these foreigners was the German traveller Hentzner, who has left us, in the diary of his "Journey into England," in 1598, an ample record of his impressions.

"Hampton Court," writes he, "is a Royal Palace, magnificently built with brick by Cardinal Wolsey in ostentation of his wealth, where he enclosed five ample courts,[1] consisting of noble edifices in very beautiful work. Over the gate in the second area is the Queen's device, a golden rose, with this motto: *Dieu et mon Droit.* On the inner side of this gate are the effigies of the twelve Roman Emperors in plaster.[2] The chief area is paved with square stone; in its centre is a fountain that throws up water, covered with a gilt crown, on the top of which is a statue of Justice, supported by columns of black and white marble.

"The Chapel of this Palace is most splendid, in which the Queen's Closet is quite transparent, having its windows of crystal. We were led into two chambers, called the Presence, or Chamber of Audience, which shone with tapestry of gold, silver, and silk of different colours; under the canopy of state are these words embroidered in pearl: VIVAT REX HENRICUS OCTAVUS. Here is besides a small chapel richly hung with tapestry, where the Queen performs her devotions. In her bed-chamber the bed was covered with very costly coverlids of silk. At no great distance from this room we were shown a bed, the tester of which was worked by Anne Boleyn, and presented by her to her husband Henry VIII.

"All the other rooms, being very numerous, are adorned with tapestry of gold, silver, and velvet, in some of which were woven history pieces; in others Turkish and American dresses, all extremely natural.

"In the Hall are these curiosities: a very clear looking-

[1] See note, p. 328. [2] See p. 51.

glass, ornamented with columns and little images of alabaster; a portrait of Edward VI., brother to Queen Elizabeth; the true portrait of Lucretia; a picture of the Battle of Pavia;[1] the History of Christ's passion, carved in mother of pearl; the portraits of Mary, Queen of Scots, who was beheaded, and her daughter [several mistakes here]; the portrait of Ferdinand, Prince of Spain, and of Philip, his son; that of Henry VIII., under it placed the Bible curiously written upon parchment; an artificial sphere; several musical instruments; in the tapestry are represented negroes riding upon elephants; the bed in which Edward VI. is said to have been born, and where his mother Jane Seymour died in childbed; in one chamber were several excessively rich tapestries, which are hung up when the Queen gives audience to foreign ambassadors. There were numbers of cushions ornamented with gold and silver; many counterpanes and coverlids of beds lined with ermine: in short, all the walls of the palace shine with gold and silver. Here is also a certain cabinet called *Paradise* where besides that everything glitters so with silver, gold, and jewels, as to dazzle one's eyes, there is a musical instrument made all of glass except the strings."

The room here spoken of as "Paradise" was a splendid curiosity, which always excited the amazement of "the intelligent foreigner." Justus Zinzerling, writing of Hampton Court Palace in 1610, says, "The most eminent room of all is the Paradise Room; it captivates the eyes of all who enter, by the dazzling of pearls of all kinds. It is strange that the keeper of this room is so sordid that you must bargain beforehand about his fee; yet from his dress he appears a grand gentleman."[2] For many years it contained, among other embellishments, some needlework of Queen

[1] Still at Hampton Court, see No. 605 in the *Historical Catalogue.*

[2] Rye's *England*, p. 134.

Mary Tudor, which Taylor, "the water-poet," speaks of in his poem on the needle :—

> In Windsor Castle and in Hampton Court,
> In that most pompous room called Paraddise,
> Whoever pleases thither to resort,
> May see some works of her's of wondrous price.
> Her greatness held it no disreputation
> To hold the needle in her royal hand;
> Which was a good example to our nation,
> To banish idleness throughout the land.

At the time of Hentzner's visit to England, Elizabeth was sixty-six years of age, and his description of her appearance may be compared with her portrait, probably painted by Zucchero about this period, which remains at Hampton Court, and of which we here give an autotype. "Next came the Queen very majestic; her face oblong, fair, but wrinkled; her eyes small, yet black and pleasant; her nose a little hooked; her lips narrow, and her teeth black. She had in her ears two pearls with very rich drops; she wore false hair and that red; and she had a necklace of exceeding fine jewels. Her hands were small, her fingers long, and her stature neither tall nor low; her air was stately; her manner of speaking mild and obliging." [1]

This was, as we have said, in 1598; and in the summer of the following year, Elizabeth paid her last recorded visit to Hampton Court. She came here, from Nonsuch, on the 2nd or 3rd of September, whence her cousin Lord Hunsdon wrote, a few days previously, to Sir Robert Cecil, in regard to her removal :—

> Her Majesty stands stiffly to her determined removing on Monday next, and will go more privately than is fitting for the time, or beseeming her estate; yet she will ride through Kingston in state, proportioning very unsuitably her lodging at Hampton

[1] *Journey into England.*


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Court unto it, making the Lady Scudamore's lodging her presence chamber, Mrs. Ratcliffe's her privy chamber, and appointing me to lodge in the chamber I had appointed for you. Make your choice whether to retain your Father's lodging, or that which the Lord Chamberlain has always held, until the time shall alter the purposes now conceived, and it shall be seen whether she will be like herself in her own house.[1]

Of this last sojourn of her Majesty's we can find no further particulars; except that she was seen through one of the windows of the palace, "dancing the Spanish Panic to a whistle and *taboureur* [pipe and tabor], none being with her but my Lady Warwick."[2] Her visit did not last more than three or four days, after which she went back again to Nonsuch. "At her Majesty's returning from Hampton Court," wrote the Scottish ambassador, "the day being passing foul, she would (as was her custom) go on horseback, although she is scarce able to sit upright, and my Lord Hunsdon said, 'It was not meet for one of her Majesty's years to ride in such a storm.' She answered in great anger, '*My* years! Maids, to your horses quickly;'" and so rode all the way, not vouchsafing any gracious countenance to him for two days. As she passed Kingston, one old man fell on his knees, praying God 'that she might live a hundred years,' which pleased her so, as it might come to pass; which I take to be the cause that some preachers pray she may last as the sun and the moon."[3]

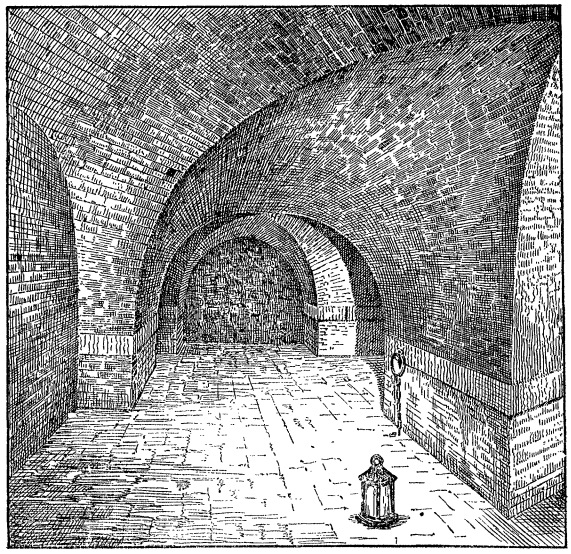
But her hour was now drawing nigh; and three years and a half after, on the 24th of March, 1603, Elizabeth of England, in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-fourth of her reign, breathed her last at Richmond Palace.

[1] *State Papers* (*Domestic*), vol. cclxxii., No. 94.

[2] Unpublished report of Lord Semple of Beltreis to the King of Scots; belonging to Sir John Maxwell of Polloc, quoted by Miss Strickland in her *Life of Queen Elizabeth.*

[3] Do.

And here, for the present, we must stop: at a future time, we will resume and conclude, in a second volume, the subsequent and not less eventful annals of Hampton Court Palace.



The Dungeon.

APPENDIX A.

(See page 7.)

TRANSLATION OF THE ENTRY RELATING TO THE MANOR OF HAMPTON IN DOMESDAY BOOK, VOL. I., FOLIO 130.

Walter de St. Valerie holds the manor of Hamptone, in the hundred of Spelthorne, which is taxed at 35 hides.[1] The arable land is 25 carucates. There are 18 hides in demesne, on which are three ploughs. The villeins have 17 ploughs, and 5 more might be employed. There are 30 villeins, who hold each a virgate; 11 villeins, who have two hides and a half jointly; and 4 borders, who have half a virgate each. The meadow is equal to three carucates. There is pasture for the cattle of the manor,[2] and three shillings arising from the fisheries in the river Thames.[3] In the whole it is valued at £39 per annum, when it came into the possession of the present owner at £20, in King Edward's reign at £40. It was then the property of Earl Algar.

[1] A *hide* is generally supposed to average about 120 modern acres. The present acreage of Hampton manor is 3,209 acres.

[2] The present *Green*.

[3] Hampton Weir. See page 13.

APPENDIX B.

(See pages 16, 17, and 157.)

COPY OF THE LEASE OF THE MANOR OF HAMPTON COURT GRANTED TO CARDINAL WOLSEY BY THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM. DATED JAN. 11TH, 1514.

From a contemporary copy preserved in the British Museum among the original registers of the Knights Hospitallers. *Cotton MSS. Claudius*, E. vi., folio 137.

This Indenture made between Sir Thomas Docwra, priour of the hospitall of Seynt John Jerusalem, in England, and his breden knights of the same hospitall upon that oone partie, and the moost reverend fader in god Thomas Wulcy Archebisshop of Yorke and primate of England upon that other partie, Witnessith that the said priour and his bredern with theire hole assent and auctorite of their Chapitur, have graunted and letten to fferme to the said Archebusshop, their manor of Hampton courte, in the countie of Midd. with all landes and tenementes, medowes, lesnes, and pastures, rentes, and services, vewe of ffranciplegis, perquesites of courts, ffisshing and ffisshing weres, and with the waren of conys, and with all manner proufites and commodites and other things what so ever they be in any manner of wise to the forseid manor belonging or apperteigning. To have and to holde the foreseid manor with the appurtenaunces to the foreseid most Reverend ffader in god Thomas Wulcy Archbisshop of Yorke, and to his assignes, ffro the ffest of the Nativite of Saint John Baptist last past before the date hereof unto thend and terme of lxxxxix yeares than next following, and fully to be ended, yielding and paying therfor yerely to the seid priour and his successours in the tresoury of there hous of seynt Johns of Clarkenwell beside London, fifty poundes sterling at the ffestes of the purification of our Lady and of Seynt Barnabe thappostle, by even porcions. And also payeing and supporting

all manner of charges ordinary and extraordinary due and goying oute of the seid manor, with the appurtenances during the seid terme. And the seid Archebusshop and his assignes yerely during the seid terme, shal have allowaunce of the seid priour and his successors in the paymentes of the rent and ferme of fifty poundes aforesaid iiij^{li}. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. sterling, at the ffestes aforeseid, by even porcions, towards and for the exhibition of a preste for to mynister divine service within the Chapell of the seid manor. And the seid priour and his brethern for them and their successours graunten the seid Archebusshop and his assignes yerely during the seid terme shalhave and take at their libertie foure loades of woode and tymber able for pyles for the reparacion and sustentacion of the were called Hampton were, the same woodes and tymber to be felled and conveyed at the costes of the said Archebusshop and of his assignes in and fro Seynt Johns woode in the seid countie of Midd.

Also it is agreed that the seid Archebusshop and his assignes at their libertie at all tymes during the seid terme shall take down, alter, transpose, chaunge, make, and new byeld at theire propre costes any howses, walles, mootes, diches, warkis, or other things within or aboute the seid manour of hamptoncourte, with the appurtenaunces, without empechement of wast and without any payne or punysshment to be or ensue to the seid Archebusshop and his assignes during the seid terme. And the seid Archebusshop and his assignes shall bere all manner of reparacions of the seid manour with the appurtenaunces during the seid terme, and in thend of the seid terme all the same shall leve to the seid priour and bredern and to theire successours sufficiently repared. Ffurthermore the seid Archebusshop and his assignes shall leve the seid priour and his successours m^{l}. couple of conys in the waren of the seid manour, or elles for every couple that shall want iiij^{d}. And moreover the seid priour and his bredren graunten that the seid Archebusshop and his assignes shalhave and occupie during the seid terme all suche parcells as be conteyned upon the bak of this endenture, and in thend of the same terme all the same shall leve and delyver to the seid priour and his successours, or the value of the same.

And if it happen the seid yerely fferme or rent of L^{li}. during the seid terme of lxxxxix yeres, to be behynde and not payed

in part or in the hole after eny terme of payment beforspecified which it ought to be paid by the space of two hole yeres, that then it shalbe lawful to the seid priour and his successours to reenter into the same manour and othre the premisses dismised, and theym to have ayen as in their first and pristinat estate, this endenture or any thing therin conteigned notwithstandyng. And the seid priour and his bredren promitte and graunte for theym and theire successours, and theym bynde by thies presentes to the seid Archebisshop, that when so ever the seid Archebisshop or his assignes at any oone tyme within the terme of this present leas shall come to the seid priour and his bredren, or to their successoures, and demaunde to have a newe graunte and lesse of the saide manour of hamptoncourte with the appurtenances to theym to be graunted under their commen seale of the seid hospitall for the terme of other lxxxxix yeres next ensuying this present terme, that then the seid priour and his bredren nowe being or their successours than for tyme beyng for that oone tyme shall graunte and make a newe leesse of the seid manor of hamptoncourt with the appurtenances to the seid Archebisshop and to his assignes under the common seale of the seid hospitall for the terme of othre lxxxxix yeres after the forme, tenour, and effecte of the seid covenauntes and agrementes conteyned in this present endenture, the substaunce therof in nowise chaunged nor mynyshed. And at the delyverie of the same new endenture this endenture to be cancelled if it shall then rest and be in the keping of the seid Archebisshop or his assignes. And if the said endenture fortune to be lost and be not in the keping of the seid Archebisshop or his assignes, nor in the kepyng of any person or their uses, then the said Archebisshop or his assignes, before the seid newe graunte or lease to be made, shall surrendre and so promytte by thies presentes to surrendre all suche title and interest as they or any of theym have, or may have, by reason of this formar lease at all tymes after suche surrendre and newe lesse made utterly to be voide and of no effecte. In witness whereof to the oone part of theis presente endenturs towardes the seid Archebusshop remaynyng, the seid priour and his bredern have put their common seale. And to that othre part of the same endenturs towards the seid priour and his bredern remaynyng the seid Archbusshop hath put his seale. Yeven in our Chapitur holden in oure house of seynt Johns of Clarkenwell beside London,

the xjth day of Januarie in the yere of our lord god a thousand fyve hundreth and fourteene, the sixt yere of the reigne of our soveraigne lord king Henry the eight.

In the Chapel, First, a chalesse of silver, a pix of copur for the sacrament, ij alter clothes, a corporaxe, ij candlestikes of laton, a massebook, a porteux, a pewterbotil for wyne, a crewet of pewter, a crosse of tynne, a paxbrede of tree, an alter clothe of whyte and blue lyke unto armyn, an ymage of our lord of tree, an ymage of our lady of tree, an ymage of saint John, an ymage of saint Nicholas, an ymage of the crosse paynted on a borde, ij alte clothes, ij pewes with a chest of wynscott, an holy waterstok of laton with a stryngel of laton, ij bells in the towre, one of them broken. Of *bedsteddis* in all xx^{ti}, ii towrned chyars.—*In the parlour*, a table of Estriche bourde with ij tristells.—*In the haule*, ij tables dormant, and oon long table with ij tristells, a close cupbourde, iiij fourmes, iiij barres of yron about the harthe.—*In the kechen*, a pot of bras cont v galons, a cadron sett in the fournace cont xx galons, a spyt of yron, ij awndyrons, a trevet, ij morters of marbil, a cawdron of iij galons di. a stomer of laton, a flesshehoke, a frying pan, ij pailes, a barre of yron in the kechen to hang on pottes, a grete salting troughe, a steping fatte, an heire of the kyln of xxiij yerdes, ij grete bynnes in the kechen, a bynne in the buttry, a knedyng troghe.—*In the stable*, a pitchfork, a dongfork. A presse in the *towre-chambre*, a great coffar in oon of the towre chambres; a parclosse in the towre, a parclose in the parloure.

APPENDIX C.

Chapter House Accounts for the Building of the Great Hall.

I. *Taking down of the Old Hall.* (*Begun in October*, 1530.)

(See page 153.)

1. Carpenters makyng of a framyd scaffold to take down the rouff of the olde hall, every of them at *6d.* the day.

2. Three sawers of tymber, by taske, for the new scaffolde to take downe the olde hall, at 12*d.* every hundred foot.

3. Tylers takyng down and sortyng of tyles of the old hall at 8*d.*, at 6*d.*, and at 5*d.*, the day.

4. Carpenters helpyng to take down the olde hall, and sortyng of the tymber of the rouff of the same, at sondry wages.

5. Payd to Thomas Ward for his wages, by the space of 24 workyng daies makyng of hodds and helpyng the scaffold maker to make long barrowes, whele-barrowes, and ladders for the said works —8*s.*

6. Payd to Hugh Dicker, tiler, for his wages, helpyng to take down tiles, and to uncover the olde hall, by the space of 4 daies at 6*d.* the day.

7. Laborers helpyng to take down the olde hall—4*d.* the day.

8. Warden and setters takyng down of the freston of the olde hall, 3*s.* 8*d.* the weke every of them.

II. *Purchase of Materials and Implements and Tools for the Building of the New Hall.* (*Nov.*, 1530, *to March*, 1532.)

(See pages 157-161.)

1. Empcyon of mattocks for to digge the foundacyons of the new hall.

2. Empcyon of scaffold polls for to make the scaffold for the new hall, at 6*d.* the lode. Also of great longe oken and alder polls at 2*s.* 6*d.* the lode.

3. Also payd to John Palmer of Dorkyng for 15 lodes of alder polles of hym bought and delyvered at Hampton Courtt, at 2*s.* 6*d.* the lode for to make scaffolds for the Kynges New Hall—36*s.* 6*d.*

4. Empcyon of ashe to make hooke pynnys for the frame of the new hall.

5. Payd to William Love, of Bronxam, for 10,000 of bryke, at 4*s.* 6*d.* the thowsande, of hym bowght and delyveryd at Taplow quarry.

6. Batlage (carriage) of plankes for the Kynges New Hall.

III. *Labour of Workmen.* (*March*, 1532, *and* 1533.)

(See pages 157-161.)

1. Bricklayers working in and uppon the foundacions of the New Hall, every of them at 6*d.* the day.

2. Fre-masons at 3*s.* the weke, every of them working in freston uppon dores, wyndowes, coynes for buttresses, and gresse-tables[1] for the Kynges New Hall.

3. Carpenters working uppon the flowres (floors) of the said Hall, every of them at 6*d.* the day.

4. Carters carrying of briks from the brik-kill, and also chalke from the water side to the foundacions of the hall, at 14*d.* the day.

5. Carpenters workyng in theyre owre tymys (hour-times) and drynkyng tymys, upon the Hall, for the hasty expedicion of the same, every of them rated at 9 hours at 7*d.*

IV. *Floor of the Hall.*

(See pages 157-161.)

1. Payd to William Wethersbe, of London, carpenter, for 6 payre of scruse, at 5*s.* 2*d.* the payre, servyng to rayse the flowre of the haull, with 4*d.* for lande carriage of the said scruse from Busshyps Gate to Barnerdes Castle; in all 31*s.* 4*d.*

2. Also payd to John Bartlymew, of Marlow, for batlage of the said scruse from London to Hampton Court, 4*d.*

3. Payd to John Churche of Chersey for a 1000 pavyng tyle, servyng for the Kynges new Hall, of hym bought and delyveryd at Hampton Court—18*s.* 4*d.* [at another time he brought 3000].

4. Also payd to William Morer, of Kyngston, for 500 of lyke tyle, of hym bought and delyveryd at Kyngston, servyng the said haull—10*s.*

5. Also to John Quycke, of the same, for 500 of lyke tyle, servyng for the sayd haull, at lyke pryce aforesayd—10*s.*

[1] Steps.

6. Also to John Burdde, of Chesyllhurst, for 6068 of playne tyles, of hym bowghte and delyveryd at Hampton Court, for to pave the Kynges new Hall, at 26*s.* 8*d.* the thousand, by convencion—£8 11*s.* 0*d.*

7. Payd to Robert Burdges, bryklayar, for pavyng of the haull, by convencyon—53*s.* 4*d.*

8. Empcion of tallow candells, spent by the workmen in the nyghte tymes uppon the pavyng of the hall, for the hastye expedicion of the same at 18*d.* the dosyn.

9. Payd to William Kyng and John Hobbs, fremasons, for hewyng and settyng the pavyng of the herthe in the Kynges new hall, of Rygate ston, conteynyng 36 fote, at 1½*d.* the fote, in theyr owr tymys by convencion—4*s.* 6*d.*

V. *Exterior of the Hall.*

(See pages 165-168.)

1. Payd to John à Gwylders, smith, for 56 leade naylys, to nayle the pypys abowght the haull—21*d.*

2. Also payd to Thomas à Coon, the Kynges sergeaunt plumber, for one hundred wait of sowther (solder), of hym bowght and delyveryd at Hampton Court, conteynyng 512 lb. at 4*d.* the lb. for sorderyng the pypys abowght the Kynges New Hall—£8 10*s.* 8*d.*

3. Paid to William Haydon, of London, for a pound of brystyll, servyng to pensell the hall abowght—6*d.*

4. Payd to John Spencer, of Hampton, for a lode of hay, to be burnyd for pensellyng abowght the hall 6*d.*

5. Payd to John Wright, free mason, for the workyng and makyng of a lyon and a dragon in stone, standyng at the Gabull ends of the said Hall, at 16*s.* the pece.

6. Also to John à Guylder for two pynnys of irne, for stayes for the two bests of freston, standyng at the gabyll endes of the haull, ponderyng 2 lb. at 1½*d.* the lb.—3*d.*

7. Payd to Henry Blankston, for gyldyng and payntyng of 2 vanys, servyng the bests of freston stondyng at the endes uppon the haull, oon of the Kynges armys, the other of the Quenys, wrowghte wyth fyne golde and in owyle, price the pece, 4*s.*

8. Also payd to the same John, for the workyng and makyng of 16 beests in freeston, standyng uppon the crest at both the Gabull ends of the said Hall, at 5*s.* 4*d.* the pece.

9. Payd to Thomas Ostley, stapuller, for 18 ffother, 12 cwt. 3 qrs. 21 lb. of leade to cover the Kynges New Hall at £4 7*s.* 8*d.* the ffother.

10. Pencelling the 2 gabull endes of the haull, with 3 vycys adjoining to the same, the Kynge fyndyng all manner of stuff and scaffoldyng—£14.

VI. *The Battlements of the Hall.*

(See pages 165-168.)

1. Payd to Thomas Johnson, of London, karver, for makyng of 29 of the Kynges bestes to stand upon the new batilments of the Kynges New Hall, and uppon the femerell of the said Hall, takyng for every of them so made and set up—16*s.* 8*d.*

2. Item 10 pynnys of Irne for the stone typys abowght the Kynges New Hall.

3. Item 11 spykes of Irne to stand uppon the sayd typys.

4. Payd to John à Guylders, for 16 vanys for the bestes, standyng uppon the battylment of the hall, at 4*s.* the pece.

5. Payd to John Hethe, payntour, of London, for the payntyng of 6 great lyons, standyng abowght the bartyllment, of tymber worke, uppon the Kynges New Hall, theyre vaynys gylte with fyne golde and in oyle, price the pece 20*s.*—£6.

6. Item to the same for *do.* of 4 great dragons, & of 6 grewhounds, servyng the said barttylment—£7.

7. Item to the same for twyse over laying of the bartyllment of tymber worke uppon the haull in leade coler and in oyle pryse—£4.

8. Also to Wylliam Johnson, ffremason, for fyve hundryth footes of corbell tabyll (string course under the battlement) servyng the New Hall.

9. To John Wryghte, for the makyng of 13 beestes and badges in the corbell tabyll uppon the Kynges new haull at 4*d.* the pece.

10. Item 420 foote of vent and crest (the embrasures of the battlement) for the haull 6*d.* the foote—£10 10*s.* 0*d.*

11. Item 212 footes of water tabyll for the inner part of the bartyllment of the haull at 4*d.* the foote—£4 10*s.* 8*d.*

12. Item 60 foote of pyller at 10*d.*, & 200 foote of monyell[1] at 4*d.* the foote.

VII. *The Three "Vyces," or spiral-staircase turrets, at the corners of the Hall.*

(See page 166.)

1. For a pair of ston henges, servyng the dore at the vyce fote goyng up to the bartyllmentes of the haull—21*d.* For a payre of lyke henges servyng a dore at the hed of the said vyce—13½*d.*

2. Also for a stapull servyng the said dore—2*d.*

3. Payd to Richard Rydge of London, karver, for karvyng and coutting of 2 grewhondes, oon lybert (leopard), servyng to stande uppon the typpis of the vycys abowght the Kynges new haull, at 18*s.* 4*d.* the pece, by convencion—55*s.*

4. Item to John Hethe, paynter, of London, for gylding and payntyng of 2 grewhondes, oon lybert, syttyng uppon basys baryng vanys, uppon the typys at the haull endes at 10*s.* the pece.

5. Irneworkes for 27 vanys servyng the 3 typpys abowght the Kynges New Hall, at 4*d.* the pece—5*s.* 8*d.*

6. Item to same for gyldyng and payntyng of 24 vanys with the Kynges armes and the Quenys badges, pryce the pece 4*s.*, standyng uppon the said typys, by convencion £4 16*s.*

7. And for laying of the Jowll-pecys of the sayd typys wyth leade coler, in oyle pryce the pece 5*s.*—15*s.*

VIII. *Side Windows.*

(See pages 165-167, and 174.)

1. Payd to John à Guylders, smythe, for 170 lockketts, 25 staybarres, and 83 standards, servyng for the lower transome of the

[1] *Monyell* is another form of the word mullion.

wyndowes of the New Hall, ponderyng 28 cwt. 92 lb. every cwt. conteynyng 112 lb. at 1½*d.* the lb.

2. Also to John à Guylders, smythe, for 13 staybarres, 96 lokketts and 48 standards, servyng for the wyndowes of the upper transome of the New Hall pondering 21 cwt. 43 lb., every cwt. conteynyng 112 lb. at 1¼ the lb.

3. For 295 sodlettes servyng the syde wyndows in the said haull, 359 lb. 49*s.*

4. Payd to Galyon Hone, the Kynges glasiar, for glasyng in the haull 11 syde wyndows, every wyndow of 8 lyghtes, every lyght conteyning 11 foot, whyche emownteth in every wyndow, besydes the harnessyng, 88 foott, at 5*d.* the fote, in all emownteth to 968 footes—£20 4*s.* 4*d.*

5. Also to the same for 2 syde wyndowes, standyng over the haull plase,[1] at the nether end of the said haull, of 8 lyghtes the pece, every lyght of the oon wyndow conteynyng 9 footes, 9 inches, the other wyndow every lyght conteynyng 8 footes & emownghtyng in all 146 footes at 5*d.* the foote—£3 10*s.* 0*d.*

6. Also in the syde wyndows in the haull ys serten pecys of harnes conteynyng 36 footes, pryce the foote 5*d.*—15*s.*

7. Also in the said wyndows in the haull is 30 of the Kynges and the Quenys armys, pryce the pece 4*s.*

8. Also 46 badges of the Kynges and the Quenys, pryce the pece, 3*s.*

9. Also 77 scryptors with the Kynges worde, pryce the pece, 12*d.*

10. Payd to John Lyan, of London, groser, for cwt. of red-lede, for colaryng the barres of the hall wyndows—13*s.* 4*d.*

11. Item to the same John, for 6 gallons and a pottell of paynters oyle, at 18*d.* the gallons, servyng the said wyndows—9*s.* 9*d.*

IX. *Great East and West Windows.*

(See pages 165-167, and 174.)

1. To John à Guilders, smith, for 28 locketts, 4 staybarres, and 14 standardes, servyng for the great wyndows at the gabull endes

[1] The minstrel gallery is here signified.

of the Kynges new hall, ponderyng 646 lb. at 11½*d.* the lb. for the upper transomes £4 9*s.* 9*d.*

2. Item 8 lockates for the heyght wyndowes (East and West Windows) at the west end and the southe (east?) ende of the Kynges New Hall.

3. Item 4 staybars servyng the same wyndowes.

4. Item 8 standards for servying the said wyndowes.

5. Payd to John à Guylders, smythe, for 40 sodletts for the harnessyng of the Greatt Wyndow at the East End of the Haull at 1¼*d.* a lb. and 12 lyke sodlettes for 2 lyghtes over the said wyndow, pondryng 33 lb. at lyke prise 10*s.* 9*d.*

6. For 84 sodlettes for the two great wyndowes at the gabull endes of the said haull, 116 lb.—16*s.*

7. For 90 sodlettes for the great wyndow at the west end of the haull, and for 28 lyke sodletts, servyng the Est wyndow at the gabyll end of the haull.

8. Also in the west wyndow at the nether Ende of the said haull ys 14 lyghtes, every lyght conteynyng 14 footes 5 ynches di. wyche dothe amownte to 202 footes 5 ynches di. at lyke pryce aforesaid —£4 4*s.* 4*d.*

9. Also in the great wyndow at the upper Ende in the said haull ys 14 lyghtes every lyght conteynyng 14 footes di. at 5*d.* the ffoote, wheche dothe amownte to 203 footes—£4 4*s.* 7*d.*

10. In the two over lyghts at the gable endes of the hall, ys 8 panys new sett, conteynyng 54 fote, at 5*d.* the fote.

11. Item the hernessyng of the two great windows at the gabyll endes of the said haull, conteynyng 70 fots, at lyke pryce.

12. In the two great wyndowys at the endes of the haull ys two great Armys, with four beestes in them at 6*s.* 8*d.* the pece.

X. *Great Bay Window.*

(See pages 165 and 169.)

1. Paid to John Ells of Westmyster, fremason, for makyng and intayling of two bullyns in freston standyng in the vowght of the great bay window in the Kynges New Hall, at 10*s.* the pece—20*s.*

2. Payd to John à Gwylders, for 16 standards, 6 staybarres, and

32 lokketts, servyng for the great bay wyndow in the southe syde of the Kynges New Hall.

3. For 6 sodlettes for the harnessyng of the great bay window in the Kynges new hawll, 2 lb,—3*d.*

4. Four casementes servyng for the great bay wyndow in the haull at 3*s.* 4*d.* the pece; and three at 3*s.* 3*d.* the pece.

5. To Gallyon Hone, the Kynges glaziar. In the Great Bay Wyndow in the said haull ys 48 lyghtes every lyght conteynyng 7 footes 4 ynches, which amowntethe in all to 304 footes, pryce the foote, 5*d.*—£6 6*s.* 8*d.*

6. To the same for 2 pecys of sowltwyche, every pece conteynyng 33 ellys at 11*s.* 2*d.* the pece, servyng to make a tylte? over the vought of the great bay window in the Kynges new hall.

XI. *Decoration of the Interior of the Hall.*

(See pages 169-172.)

1. Payd to Robert Wodlonde, of London, Carpenter, for 150 of sesenyd playnche burdde, servyng for the lenyng plase in the nether ende of the haull, and the lenyng plase before the Kynges chamber dore, at 3*s.* 2*d.* the hundred—4*s.* 9*d.*

2. To John Maxburne, Richard à Lake and William Baker, for couttyng of 18 lyntelles, conteynyng 18 lyghtes, at 12*d.* the lyght, servyng the lenyng plase at the nether end of the hall, and at the Kynges watchyng chamber dore at 12*d.* the light.

3. For 250 of great broddes for the jowl-pesys in the sayd haull at 2*s.* the hundryth.

4. Also for 3700 of myddyll brodds, at 12*s.* the hundryth, spent uppon the crokes and dubbers in the Kynges new haull.

5. 750 bechen plankes for the hall.

6. Item to John Hethe, of London, painter, for byssyng of 62 footes of bowrde standyng in the haull place at the nether ende of the haull—10*s.* 4*d.*

7. Item to the same for laying of the joull-pecys[1] rownde abowght the haull with grene merbyll in oyle, and for byssyng of a

[1] The joull-pece was apparently a sort of cornice on a line with the bottom of the windows.

casement in the joull-pece at the nether ende of the haull; by convencion—£3.

8. Also to John Hethe and Harry Blankstone, for 10 armes of the Quenes, of the largest sorte, standyng abowght the border uppon the jowle-pece, in the Kynges new Hall—eighteen makyng the yerde square, that is, halfe a yarde, and oon badge over pryce—for moldyng, payntyng, and gyldyng with ffyne golde and bysse 12*s.* 8*d.*

9. Item to Robert Skyngke, of London, moulder of Antyke-worke, for a trayle of antyk sett in the great Joull-pece in the Kynges new Hall, conteynyng 71 yards in leyngthe, 8 inches brode, at 16*d.* the yard—£4 14*s.* 8*d.*

10. Also to the same for a creste goyng uppon the hedde of the sayd jooll pece, conteynyng 71 yardes in leyngthe, a fote brode, at 2*s.* 8*d.* the yarde—£9 9*s.* 4*d.*

11. Also, for mowldyng of 36 badges, standyng in the crest above the Evys pece, in the Kynges new Hall, in the haull pace, at the nether ende of the haull, and in the casementes rownde abowght the haull, at 3*d.* the pece—9*s.*

12. For gylttyng and payntyng of the said 36 badges, at 12*d.* the pece—36*s.*

13. For letters of the Kynges worde, pondering 21 lb. at 3*d.* the lb. standyng in the casementt in the haull pace at the nether Ende of the Haull—5*s.* 3*d.*

14. Also to Henry Blankston for payntyng and gyldyng, wyth fyne golde and byse, of 71 yerdes in length, and 1 fote brode, of crest moldyd work wyth the Kynges armys and the quenys standyng in the Kynges haull above the Evys pece, pryce the yerde, 5*s.* 4*d.*—£18 13*s.* 4*d.*

15. Also, for 71 yardes in length and 8 inches brode, of trayle moldyd worke in the Evys pece in the forsaid haull gylte wyth fyne golde and byse, pryce the yarde 3*s.*—£10 13*s.* 0*d.*

16. Also, for 4 of the Kynges wordes in the casement of the haull pase, in the nether ende of the hall, in gylte letters, wyth fyne gold gylte, price the word 2*s.*

17. Also to Richard Rydge, of London, karver, for cuttyng and kervyng of 32 lyntelles wrought wyth Kynges badges and the quenys standyng in the skrenys within the Kynges newe haull, at 2*s.* 2*d.* the pece.

18. Item to John Van for 200 of great broddes for the skrenys in the Kynges new haull pryce the hundryth *2s. 4d.*

19. Payd to John Whighte of Wynchester, fre-mason, for workyng, carvyng, gravyng, and intayllyng, yn fre-ston, of 6 bokketts for 3 dores of the New Hall, whereof 2 stond uppon the northe side, and oon on the southe syde of the sayd Hall, by a bargain in taske, £6.

20. For 5 stone hooks servyng for the new hall dores, 33 lb., at 1*d.* the lb.

XII. *Interior of the Roof* (1534 *and* 1535).

(See pages 171-175.)

[Technically this is a late Perpendicular single hammer-beam roof, of seven compartments or bays. Each "principal" consists of two half-arches, supporting one large centre arch, above which is a somewhat similar arrangement of parts on a smaller scale, filled with pierced panelled tracery. Each side arch is composed of a beam (called the "pendant post"), resting against the wall, and terminating below in a corbel; of a curved beam (called the "hammer-brace") springing from the corbel; and of a horizontal beam (called the "hammer-beam"), resting on the pendant post and hammer-brace. The spandrels between these three parts are beautifully carved with the arms and badges of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour. Each of the great centre arches of the roof are formed of curved beams (called "collar-braces"), springing from perpendicular beams (called "side-posts") terminating above in the ceiling, where they are fixed to the rafters of the roof, and below, where they meet the hammer-beams and hammer-braces, in magnificently-wrought pendants. Across the top of each of these great centre arches, is laid a horizontal beam (called the "collar") on which rests the open work filling the topmost part of the roof.]

1. Payd to John Wright, of Southe Memys, fremason, for workyng, karvyng, and intaylling of 16 several fre-stones for the repryses (brackets or corbels) of the Kynges New Hall, whereof two of them curyously engraved wyth the Kynges Armes, wyth the crowne and

two of the Kynges bestes, stande at the upper ende of the sayd Hall, and ten others of the sayd stones ingraved, five of them wyth roses, and other five wyth portcolos, every of them wyth two of the Kynges beasts conteryng one agenst an other, stande on ether syde of the sayd Hall, and other, rest of the sayd 16 stones, engraved with the letters H. and R. every of them wyth the crowne, stand in the four angulls of the same Hall, takeing for every of the sayd stones soo brought, clensyd, and fully fynyshed, by convensyon, 22*s.* 6*d.*

2. To Frauncys Stykrayd, of London, carpenter, for 2000 of fine selyng bourddes, at 31*s.* 13*d.* the 1000, for the vaught in the Kynges New Hall.

3. Payd to Richard Rydge, of London, karver, for the makyng of 28 hedds, standyng uppon the fote of the arche over the syde of th' hammerbeam, within the Kynges new hall, at 12*d.* the pece.

4. Also to Mychell Joyner, for the makyng of 250 of the Kynges and Quenys badges, standyng uppon the caters within the said hall, at 5*d.* the pece.

5. Also payd to Richard Rydge, of London, karver, for the makyng of 16 pendaunts, standyng under the hammer beam in the Kynges New Hall, at 3*s.* 4*d.* the pece.

6. Also to the same, for makyng of 28 pendaunts stondyng in the crosse mowntyn above the hamer beame in the Kynges new haull, at 25*s.* a pece.

7. Payd the forsaid Richard Rydge, for the makyng of 20 pendaunts, standyng in the upper purloyns[1] within the Kynges New Hall, at 25*s.* the pece—£25.

8. Payd to William Baldwyn, for lyke couttyng of 12 traylls, standyng above the hamer-beame in the Hall, at 12*d.* the pece.

9. Payde to Mychell Joyner, for couttyng of 26 spandrells standyng in the plum basys under the nether purloyns in the Kynges New Hall, at 20*d.* the pece.

10. Bysing of bourddes in the Haull Rouffe withe gyldyng and paynttyng of bestes and badges abowght the same.

11. Payde to John Hethe, paynter, of London, for gyldyng and payntyng of 272 badges of the Kyngs and the Quenys, standyng

[1] Purloins or perlins are those pieces of timber that lie across the rafters on the inside to prevent them from sinking in the middle of their length.

abowght the vowghte, and the caters within the Kynges new haull, at 12*d.* the pece.

12. For lyke gyldyng and payntyng of 28 hedd, standyng uppon the hammer-beamys in the rouff of the said haull, price the pece, 2*s.* —56*s.*

13. Item for laying of townges of the Kynges bests and the Quenys, of antyk worke standing in the spanderelles and beamys wyth yelow, concernyng to the same, in oyle, price 2*s.*

14. Item to the same for laying of 6 bayes of byse bourddes in the haull, every bay conteynyng 1298 footes, by convencion—£65 2*s.* 7*d.*

15. Item to the same for laying of 62 pendauntes with byse bourddes, in the sayd haull, conteynyng 122 footes at 2*d.* the foote —20*s.* 4*d.*

16. To John Dowsett of Kyngston for 12 dosyn of Tallow Candylles at 18*d.* the dosyn spent by the carpenters workyng uppon the vought of the Kynges new hall.

17. To William Johnson, for 26 great pyller for the chaptrelles of the bosselys of the haull at 13*d.* the foote 28*s.*

18. 2000 twopenny nailes at 10*d.* the 1000 for the selyng bourde in the upper rouff in the Hall.

19. Payd to Reginald Warde of Dudley, for 7350 of dubbyll tenpenny nayles inglys, at 11*s.* the 1000.

20. Also 2000 of synggle tenpenny nayles, at 5*s.* 8*d.* the 1000.

21. Also 12,000 of sixpenny nayles, at 3*s.* 6*d.* the 1000.

22. Also 5000 of fivepenny nayles, at 2*s.* 6*d.* the 1000.

23. Also 4000 of fourpenny nayles, at 2*s.* 4*d.* the 1000.

24. Also 1500 of rought nayles, at 10*d.* the 1000.

XIII. *The Femerell or Louvre in the centre of the Roof.*

(See pages 166 and 174.)

1. Cuttyng of lyntelles in the nyght tymys, by convencion :—

2. Payd to John Maxburne, Richard à Lake and William Baker for couttyng of 6 lyntelles conteyning 18 lyghtes at 12*d.* the light for the fyrst store (*i.e.* storey) of the femerell, by convencyon—18*s.*

3. Also payd to the same John, Richard and William for lyke

couttyng of 6 lintelles for the second store of the sayd femerell conteynyng 12 lyghtes at 8*d.* the lighte, by convencion—8*s.*

4. Also payd to the same John Richard and William for lyke couttyng of 6 lyntelles conteyning 6 lyghtes at 12*d.* the lyghte servyng for the type (*i.e.* tip or top) of the sayd femerell—by convencion—6*s.*

5. Also for couttyng of 6 holow lyntelles wrought wyth bostelles (bristelles?) for the 2nd vowght of the femerell at 8*s.* the pece.

6. Also payd to Richard Rydge of London carver for the makyng of 4 pendenttes hanging uppon the femerell reddye fenesshyd and set up, at 40*s.* the pece—£8.

7. Also for couttyng and karvyng of a rose crownyd, standyng in the crowne vowght of the femerell—13*s.* 4*d.*

8. Item to John Hethe, of London, painter, for gyldyng of a great Rose, crownyd, standyng in the toppe of the said femerell, by convencion—20*s.*

9. Also payd to the same for cuttyng of 6 traylys standyng in the ffyrst courbe of the sayde femerell at 12*d.* the pece—6*s.*

10. Also for lyke couttyng of 6 traylys for the seconde courbe of the same at 10*d.* the pece—5*s.*

11. Also for couttyng of 6 lyke trayelys standyng in the theyrde courbe at 6*d.* the pece—3*s.*

12. Also for lyke couttyng of 6 traylys for the 4th courbe of the said femerell at lyke pryse aforsaid—3*s.*

13. Also for couttyng 6 holow bowtelles[1] for the ffurst story of the said femerell at 14*d.* the pece—7*s.*

14. Also for couttyng 6 lyke boyteylles for the seconde story of the said femerell—5*s.*

15. Also for 6 lyke bowtelles for the thyrde story—5*s.* And for 6 howlow lyntelles wrought with boutelles for the crowne vowght of the said femerell at 2*s.* the pece.

16. Also payd to Gallyon Hone the Kynges Glasiar. In the lover uppon the haull, in the nether story ys 12 lyghtes, every lyght conteynyng 7 footes 4 ynches, amowntethe in all to 88 footes at 5*d.* the foote—36*s.* 8*d.*

[1] A *boutell*, which is properly one of the perpendicular shafts of a clustered pillar, is sometimes applied to any cylindrical moulding — perhaps its meaning here.

17. Also for 6 lyghtes, every lyght conteynyng 4 footes di. servyng in the upper story of the forsaid lover—11*s.* 3*d.*

18. Also in the said femerell, for 18 pecys of harnys conteynyng 6 footes at 5*d.* the foote—2*s.* 6*d.*

19. For 100 great broddes (*i.e.* nails) at 20*d.* the 100, and 100 of medyll broddes at 12*d.* the 100, servyng for the dubbers uppon the femerell, in all 2*s.* 8*d.*

20. For 150 of greatt broddes for the lyntelles, dubbers, and basys in the said femerell at 20*d.* the 100—2*s.* 6*d.*

21. To John à Guylders, smethe, for the great pryncipall vane baryng the close crowne, uppon the femerall of the Kynge's New Hall—40*s.*

22. Item, 78 sodlettes for the ffemerell—14*s.* 3*d.*

23. Paid to John Hethe, paynter, of London, for bysyng of 236 fote bourde in the femerell, at 2*d.* the fote—39*s.* 4*d.*

24. Item, to the same, for gyldyng and payntyng of 4 lyons, servyng for the femerell of the haull wyth there vanys layd in oyle, price the pece—20*s.*

25. Item, to the same for the gyldyng & payntyng of 4 dragons, and of 4 grewhonds, wyth there vanys layd in oyle,—price the pece 20*s.*

26. To Thomas à Coon the Kynges sergaunt plumer for castyng of 13 fothers, 214 lb. of leade at 2*d.* the cwt. layde uppon the femerell of the haull.

27. Item of a Greate Lyon, crownyd, baryng a great vane, servyng the toppe of the femerell, pryce 26*s.* 8*d.*

28. Item for laying of 6 lattys (lattices ?) wyth grene, in oyle, abowght the said femerell, pryce 6*s.* 8*d.*

APPENDIX D.

CHAPTER HOUSE ACCOUNTS OF WORKS AND DECORATIONS IN THE CHAPEL, EXECUTED FOR HENRY VIII. CHIEFLY IN 1535 AND 1536.

(See pages 185 and 186.)

I. *Carving of the Stalls.*

1. Carvers uppon the stalls in the chappell Edmond More and Peter Cleyff at 12*d.* the day.

2. Rydyng Costes. Also payd to Eddy. More, karver, for his costes and Expenses Rydyng to Ammersam, to Cheynys, to Penley, to Thacham and to Kynges-Clere, wyth the Kynges commysson, to rest and take up workmen by the space of 4 dayes at 12*d.* the day over and besydes hes dayes wages for hym selfe and his horsse—4*s.*

3. Harry Corant, of Kyngston, carver, for cuttyng, carvyng, joynyng, framyng, settyng up, and fenesshyng oon of the sydes of the stall of the chappell, savyng the crest backyng above. Ditto for the other side.

4. Item to John Van for 150 broddes spent by the carvers uppon the stalls in the chappell pryce the 100, 12*d.*

II. *Chapel Door.*

1. Also payd to Wylliam Raynoldes, fremason for entaylyng of too crownys in freston standyng over the Kinges armys and the quenys at the Chappell dore at 5*s.* the pece, by convencyon.

2. The new payntyng, gyldyng and garnesshyng of the too peces of armes at the Chappell-dore, with the Kynges and the Quenys armes, pryce the pece 20*s.*

3. For a lowng bolt of Iron tynned conteyning 3 footes in length servyng for the chappell dore pondering 11 lb.

4. For a bolt wyth a stapull servyng the forsayd chappell dore.

III. *Organ.*

1. To John Johnson for 4 stayes of Irne servyng for the organs in the chappell, ponderyng 6 lb. at 1½*d.* the lb.

2. Batlage of new orgynes for the Chappell, from Brydwell to Hampton Courtt, by convencyon—13*s.* 4*d.*

3. A piece of sowltewiche to keep the dust from the roof of the chapel, when the wall was broken down to make the house where the organ shall stand.

4. In the organ-players offes, ys 6 panys of new glass sett, conteynyng 25 footes.

5. Standards, ponderyng 58 lb. for the housse adjoynyd to the Chappell where the organys shall stand.

IV. *Paving of the Chapel.*

1. Payd to John Church, of Cherssey, ffor 2000 of pavyng Tyle for the chappell, of hym bought and delyveryd at Hampton Courtt, at 18*s.* 4*d.* the thousande.

2. For 104 foote of hardston rought pase, for the steppes in the Quere (choir) in the chappell.

V. *Windows.*

1. In the Chapel wyndow before the hyeght alter [now bricked up] ys 16 footes of Immagere, pryce the foote, 2*s.*

2. Item there ys in the hede of the sayd wyndow 3 badges, whiche doth emounte to 4 footes pryce the foote—2*s.*

3. Item in the wyndowes of the said chappell ys sett 3 of the quenys badges in a skutchen, pryce the pece 12*d.*

4. Item in the chappell, there ys 7 syd-wyndowes in all amountyng to 455 ft.

5. Item in the housse adjoynyd to the chappell where the organys shall stond, standards ponderyng 58 lb.

6. Mendyng and paynttyng of fyve peces of images in the wyndow in the Chappell, pryce the pece 8*d.*

7. In the Chapell ys 2 of the Quenys halfe armys new sett at lyke pryce.

8. In the Kynges and the Quenys holyday closett is 3 armes of the Quenys new sett pryce the pece—3*s.*

VI. *Carved Roof of the Chapel.*

For payntyng, gyltyng and varnesshyng of the vought in the Kynges New Chappell:—Payd to John Hethe and Harry Blankston, of London, gylders and paynters, for gylttyng and garnesshing of the vought in the Chappell, wyth great arches bourd, great pendaunts, wyth angells holdyng schochens wyth the Kynges armes and the Quenes, and wyth great pendantts of boyes playing wyth instruments, and large battens set wyth antyk of leade, gylt, wyth the Kynges wordde also gylt wyth ffyne golde and ffyne byse, set owtt wyth other ffyne collers, and for casting of the antyk and letters of lead, and for the pyn nayll, with all other necessaryes belowngyng to the forsayd chappell rowff; wyth too great bay wyndowes of the Kynges and the Quenes Holyday Closettes, for the sides next unto the chappell, garnesshyd and gwylte wyth the Kinges armys and the Quenys, wythe beests guylte wythe fyne golde and byse, sett owt wyth other fyne collers, in all, by convencion £451.

VII. *High Altar.*

1. A branche of Irne, curiously wrought, standing over the high aulter in the chapel, to hold the canopy and pyx over the Blessyd Sacrament. (Dec. 1530.)

2. Paynting and gilting of a branche of iron standing over the Blessed Sacrament in the chapel.

VIII. *The Font at which Edward VI. was baptized.*

1. Carpenters workyng theyr owre tymes and dryngkyng tymes

uppon the ffonte in the chappell, with sondry raylyngs belowngyng to the same.

2. A vyse (screw) for covering the ffontte.

APPENDIX E.

Extracts from the Chapter House Accounts relating to the Purchase of Material for the Buildings.

(See pages 158-161.)

The following are given as specimens of thousands of similar entries :—

I. *Brick.*

1. Empcion of Bryk. Also payd to John Larkyn of Salrydgeworthe, brykmaker for dyggyng, mouldyng, settyng and byrnyng of fyve hundryth thousande, foure score thre thousande brykkes by hym byrnt and delyveryd at the bryk-kills wythin the Kynges parke at Hampton Court takyng for every 1000 brykkes there so brent and delyveryd at *2s.* 10*d.*—£82 11*s.* 10*d.*

II. *Stone.*

1. Batlage for 18 toons of Caen stone from London to Hampton Courte.

2. Also payd to Ric[d] Aynscome of Rygate quaryman for 33 tonys of Rygate ston of hym bought and delyveryd at Hampton Court.

III. *Lime and Chalk.*

1. To William Lowe, of Burnam, for 6 lodes and 6 boshelles of

lime reddy burnyd and delyveryd at Taplow quare at 10*d.* the quarter—25*s.*

2. To the same for 24 lodes of chalke reddy dygged and delyveryd at the said quarry at 2*d.* the lode.

3. Also to Henry Tribeke, of Hedser, for batlage of the sayd lyme and chalke from Taplow quarre to Hampton Court—18*d.*

4. Black Chalk to paynt and garnish the walls.

IV. *Plaster.*

1. Also to John Commell merchaunt of Rone (Rouen?) for 3 moughte, 2 cwt. of plaister of hym bought and delyveryd at Saynte Catteryne's at London.

2. Payd to Ric[d] Dyreck of Parys, for 21 mounte of playster of Parys of hym bought and delyveryd at the Towre-wharff at 5*s.* the mounte—£5 5*s.* 0*d.*

3. Also payd to Jhames Meryng, ffrenchman, for hys costes at sondry tymes goyng from Hampton Courtt to Seynte Catteryne's to provyde for playster—4*s.* 4*d.*

4. Ten quarters of here (hair) to John Thurston, plaisterer.

V. *Lead.*

1. To Maister Babyngton of Darbyshere for 10 fother of leade at £4 6*s.* 8*d.* the fother—£43 6*s.* 8*d.*

2. Empcion of leade to Rayff Alen of London grosser for 3 foder of lead.

3. Fyners fynnyng of leade asshes. (Sept. 1530.)

4. Soder spent in the gutters and pypes of the new kechen.

VI. *Wood.*

1. To John Clerke of Waybrydge for 550 planche bowrdde delyvered at Hampton Court. (Sept. 1530.)

2. Also to Ric[d] Ffylde of London, lynen-draper, for 200 waynscottes.

VII. *Tiles, Paving Stones, &c.*

1. For 4000 flemyshe pavyng tyll of grene and jowllo (yellow) at 5*s.* the hundryth.

2. Also payd to Henry Hartley, of Kyngston, for 6 loads of playne Tile, of hym bowght and delyveryd at Hampton Courtt at 4*s.* 6*d.* the lode.

3. Payd to William Clarkson, of Henley, for batlage of a fare of pybylles, from Reddyng to Hampton Court, servyng for the pavyng of the Base Court, by convencion—43*s.* 4*d.*

VIII. *Empcion of paynters stuff spent by Anthony Tote in the Kynges closett at Hampton Court.* (*Dec.* 1532.)

1. Payd to Henry Burd, groser of London, for 12 lb. of white lead at 2*d.* the lb.; 4 lb. of red leade at 2*d.* the lb.; 2 lb. of spaltain at 4*d.*; 1 lb. of verdygresse; 1 lb. of maskett; 4 ounces of synaper blake, at 10*d.* the ounce; 2 lb. of Spernys oker; 1¾ lb. of byse, at 8*d.* the lb.; ½ lb. of vermylon; a swanes quylle and goos quylle, 4*d.*; 100 greys taills, 6*d.*; 2 lb. of verdytor, at 16*d.* the lb.; a gallon of paynters oyll, 16*d.*; 4 lb. of blake chalke, 4*d.*; 1 lb. of vernysshe, 6*d.*; 6 lb. of Spannysshe white, 3*d.*; ½ lb. of spong, 2*s.*; 1 lb. of markyng stones, 8*d.*; a quire of paper riall, 6*d.*; 1 lb. of Fflaunders heyre, 4*d.*; a dozen of grene ffoyl, 4*d.*; a quart of pyncke, 6*d.*; 4 skeynys of fynne thredd, 2*d.*; 1 lb. of dry flowre.

2. Also payd to John Lyonell of London, grosser, for 3 dosyn of whyte leade at 2*s.* the dosyn; 6 dosyn of spaynyshe white, at 4*d.* the dosyn; for 3 lb. of vermelonde at 18*d.* the lb.; 10 dosyn of redd lede at 18*d.* the dosyn; 3 sackes of verdygrace conteynyng 23 lb. at 12*d.* the lb.; 15 gallons, a pottell and a pynte of paynters oyle at 18*d.* the gallon; a barrell pyched to carrye in the said oyle; 3 lb. of secoll. blak, 2*d.*; a lb. of brystylles, 5*d.*; halff a pounde of packe threade, 3*d.*; 3 boshelles of glovers shedes, servyng to make syes at 5*d.* the boshell.

APPENDIX F.

Miscellaneous Charges and Accounts relating to Hampton Court. (Chapter House Manuscripts.)

I. *Tennis Court.*

(See pages 123 and 138-140.)

1. Freemasons wourking uppon all such dorys wyndows and scouncyons for the new lodginges by the Tenys playe. (April, 1529.)

2. 8 standards and 2 staybarres for 2 wyndows servyng the new lodgings betwixt the galary and the Tenys playe. do.

3. Laying of gutters over the tennys play.

4. A vayn servyng for the stone typis at the gabull ende of the new Tennys play.

5. Payntyng and gyldyng of the vane uppon the type of the Tennys play, the Kynges armys wrought with fyne golde in oyle—4*s.*

6. To John Wylkynson for 200 redd ocker for pensellyng of the new tennys play at 20*d.* the 100.

7. For 12 wyndows of new glass, sett in the new tennys play every wyndow of 3 lightes, so the middle lights contain 39 footes, and every syde lyght conteyning 36½ foot. In the lesser wyndowys 3 lyghts.

8. Carpenters workyng in makyng the hassardes in the close Tennys play agaynst the Kynges cummyng, every of them ratyd for every 9 howres 8*d.*

9. Master Wyre-drawers payd for the wyndows of the New Tennys Play some at 16*d.* the day, others at 8*d.*

10. Also payd to John Budd of Chiselhurst for 4000 and a hundrithe pavyng tiles for the Close tennys play at Hampton Court of hym bought and delyverd at Hampton Court, at 16*s.* the thousand, by convencion 65*s.* 7*d.* (Nov. 1532.)

II. *The King's Great Watching Chamber.* (*Nov.* 1535.)

(See pages 180 and 181.)

1. Payd to John Van for 36 standards servyng the upper transom and the nether of the great rounde wyndow in the Kynges watchyng Chamber.

2. Payd to Garrett Rongg of the Weke, joyner, for turnyng of 25 pendantes off Tymber servyng for the frett in the Rouff of the Kynges Watchyng chamber at 16*d.* the pece, by convencyon—33*s.* 4*d.*

3. Also payd to Ric[d] Rydge, of London, karver, for couttyng and karvyng of the said pendanttes at 2*s.* the pece, by convencyon—50*s.*

4. Also payd to John Hethe and Henry Blankston for gyldyng and payntyng of 25 great pendantes hangyng in the rouff of the said chamber, gylte wyth fyne gold and byse, and layd wyth fyne whyte, pryce the pece 3*s.* 4*d.*—£4 3*s.* 4*d.*

5. Item for 131 badges of the Kynges armys and the quenys in garlondes of antyke moldyd worke in the Rouff of the said chamber, conteynyng 16½ yerdes square, gylte wyth fyne golde and byse, garnesshyde with other fyne collers, pryce the yerde square, moldyng, gyldyng and garnesshyng 21*s.*—£17 6*s.* 7*d.*

III. *Chimneys.*

1. Also payd to Robt. Burdges, of Hampton bryklayer for 12 chemney shaftes with theyr basys, geraundes, and heddes reddy sett up and fenysshed uppon the quenys new lodgyng at 45*s.* the pece—£27.

2. Payd to John Lyonell, groser of London, for 9½ lb. of verdygrese at 12*d.* the lb. servyng to color chymneys at the mounte.

3. Also payd to John Lyonell, of London, grosser, for 4 dosen of redd-lead servyng for payntyng of sondry chimneys over the Kynges lodgeyng pryce the dosen, 10*d.*

IV. *Decoration of the King's Long Gallery End.*

Also in the Kynges Long Gallery Ende a border of antyke wyth

nakyd chyldryn, the antyke all gylte, the fyld layde with fyne byse, wyth a liste above the border gylte wyth a casmentt layde wythe byse and a joulle pece under the border, with a casement layd wyth byse there in sett the Kynges worde wyth gylte letters beyng in length 47 yardes and a ffote brode at 7*s.* 8*d.* the yarde—£15 13*s.* 4*d.*

V. *Furniture and other Requisites.*

1. *Wainscote.*

Workyng fyve tables of waynscottes to be paynted in the Kynges closett; two dorys of lyke wayncottes to be hanged over the Kinges and the Quenis gret closetts.

2. *Queen's Kneeling-Desk.*

A lyttyl dore in the Quenys knelyng deske in hyr new closett.

3. "*Emption of Green Cloth.*"

Also payde to Thomas Bayle, merchant of London, for too yerds of Brode grene clothe to cover the King's bord, standyng in the new gallary at 4*d.* the yerd.

4. *Matting provided by the Housekeeper.*

Robert Manning, keper of the place, for new matting and laying of the Kynges privey closet, the room where the Kynges close stole standyth, my Lady Elizabeth's great chamber, thre chambers in my Lord Marques' lodgyng, my Lord Privey Sel's beddchambre, and the upper storey of the great orcharde. Packthread for to sowe the matts for matting the Kynges newe lodgyng.

5. *Looking Glasses, &c.*

For makyng clene of a stele-glass, with scowerynge of 9 tabylls of flatt work in the quenes gallary.

6. *Clocks.*

A clock for the Kinges closet, and drest pannelling for the same.

7. *Nails to hang Tapestries on.*

For 400 crossheddyd nayles, servyng to hangyng the clothes abought the hall, and the nether gallery goyng to the chappell.

8. *Curtain Rods.*

Great curtain roddes, tynned, servyng sondry windows in the Kynges bedd-chamber and other rooms.

9. *Hour-glasses.*

Payd for a ronnynge glasse for the workmen to kepe their oures trewly at all tymys 8*d.*

10. *Lines.*

Knotts of running line for the bryklayers to measure owt the foundacions.

11. *Plans.*

For skins to draw platts upon.

VI. *Henry VIII.'s Pheasants.*

(See page 135.)

1. To John à Guilders, smeth, for 14 payre of honches and henges servyng sondry dores in the ffesaunde yerd for the henys that sytte on the fesaundes eygges.

2. Also payd to William Thomson, ffesaunde-keper, for knyttyng of a nett for oon of the ffesaundes howsys, the Kyng fyndyng threde thereto, by convencyon—*6d.*

3. To William à Dean for 8 syttyng hennys to syt and bryng up the yowng fesaundes at *6d.* the pece.

4. Payd to Ric[d] Wade, of Kyngston, ffor 5 boshelles of whete for the Kynges ffesaundes, spent by the space of a monythe at 12*d.* the boshell.

5. Bought in Kyngston mercatt, for the Kynges fesaunds, 4 boshells of whete, at 14*d.* the boshell, and 4 boshells of wotes (oats) at 4*d.* the boshell; and 3 boshells of barley at 9½*d.* the boshell for the syttyng hennes.

6. Item a boshell of hemp seed for the pheasants, at 2*s.* 2*d.* the boshell. Item Eyggs and courdds for the bryngyng up of the young fesaunds, 4*s.*

7. An Irne shovell servyng to digg anttes for the ffesaunds, *6d.*

8. A horse to carry ants from sondry woddes and other plasys for the said fesaunds.

VII. *The Parks and Game.*

(See pages 135 and 212.)

1. Palers settyng up of olde pale in the nether park betwixte the park and the smethe. (Sept. 1530.)

2. Makyng, clevyng and settyng up of 24,200 pale-post, shore and rayle, whyche cometh of Lee Woodes, and sett abought the Kynges New Park at Hampton Courtt in the hethe besydes Hampton town at 17*d.* the hundryth, so made cleft and sett £17 2*s.* 10*d.*

3. Payd to Thomas Gadesbe, of Kyngston, ffor gatheryng of 32,000 quyksettes of white thorne, to sett abought the new parke nexte unto Hampton town at 3*s.* 4*d.* the thousande.

4. The same to Wylliam Shawe of Myklan, in Kent, for lyke gatheryng of 20,000 of lyke settes.

5. Mowers of braken in the park, by the King's commandement, 6*d.* the day.

6. Payd to Thomas Creston, carpenter, for makyng, framyng, and settyng up of a new berne in the north east of the parke, to kepe haye in for the Kynges dere, by convencion, 46*s.* 8*d.*

7. Makers of buries for blake conyes in the new warren, every of them 15*d.*

8. To Robert Bing, of the Wyke, smythe, for a great long nagre? of irne, to make and bore cony holes within the Kynges beries new made for blake conyes in the warren.

9. Brick wall upon the Lowng Course in the nether park, from the Kynges Long Gallery end unto the pale separating betwyxt the parke and the Kynges great meddow.

10. Wall within the Upper Park going from the middle gate thorow the park to the gate callyd Rychemond Gate.

APPENDIX G.

NAMES OF VARIOUS PARTS OF THE PALACE MENTIONED IN THE CHAPTER HOUSE ACCOUNTS BEYOND THOSE ENUMERATED IN THE TEXT.

(See pages 150, 151, 176, and 202.)

I. *Galleries.*

King's Long Gallery.
King's Privy Gallery.
My Lord Cardinal's Gallery.
Uppermost Gallery.
Gallery in the Queen's old Lodgings.
Privy Gallery to the Mount.
Privy Gallery going from the Mount to the Thames syde (otherwise called "The Water-Gallery").
Queen's Long Gallery.
Gallery betwixt the Queen's Lodging and the Bowling Alley.
Gallery going from the Queen's Lodging to the Close Tennis Play.
Low Gallery in the Base Court.

II. *Chambers belonging to Prince Edward.*

The Nursery.
Washing House in the Nursery.
My Lord Prince's Jakes.
My Lord Prince's Watching Chamber.
My Lord Prince's Chamber of Presence.

III. *Lodgings and Chambers of Various Persons.*

My Lord Chamberlain's lodging.
Lord Privy Seal's lodging.
My Lord Ammiraile's lodgings.
Mr. Ratcliffe's lodgings.
Mr. Heneage's Lodging in the Court where the fountain standeth.

Entry before Maystre Hennage's lodging.
Sir Edward Bayntton's Lodging.
Mr. Anthony Brown's Lodgings.
Mr. Butte's lodging.
Serjeant of the Larder's Chamber.
Clerk of the Kitchen's Chamber.
The Master Cook's Chamber.
The Squire Cook's Chamber.
Mr. Cofferer's Lodgings.
Mr. Clerk Comptroller's Lodgings.
Groom-Porter's Chamber.
The Queen's Poticary's Chamber, and many others.

IV. *Miscellaneous Offices, besides those given on pages* 151-154.

Brewhouse.
Woodyard.
Houses of Office in the outer court, outside the Base Court.
Drinking House in the Wine Cellar (now occupied by the Lamplighter).
Page's Chamber over the Drinking House (in Mrs. Buchanan's apartments).
Wardrobe of the King's Bed.
Privy Closet over the Wardrobe.
New Tower over the Baynes (Baths).
Organ-player's Office, and many others.

APPENDIX H.

Extracts from the Chapter House Accounts relating to Henry VIII.'s Gardens.

(See pages 205-208.)

I. *King's Beasts standing about the Ponds in the Pond Garden.*

1. Also payd to Harry Corantt of Kyngston, carver, for makyng and entayllyng of 38 of the Kynges and the quenys Beestes, in freeston, barying shyldes wythe the Kynges armes and the Quenys ; that ys to say, fowre dragownes, seyx lyones, fyve grewhoundes,

fyve harttes, foure Innycornes, servyng to stand abowght the ponddes in the pond yerd at 26*s.* the pece—£49 8*s.*

2. Also paid to Harry Corant for cuttyng and intayling of a lyon and grey-hound in freestoon, that is to say, the lyon barying a vane with the Kynges armes, &c., servyng to stand uppon the bases of freeston abought the ponds.

3. Pynnes servyng the pyllers of freestoon that the beaste standyth uppon abowght the ponds in the pond yerd.

4. Item for payntyng of 30 stoon bests standyng uppon bases abowghtt the pondes in the pond yerd, for workmanship, oyle and collers, at 12*d.* the pece.

II. *Posts and Rails in the New Garden.*

1. Payd to Henry Blankston of London, paynter, for payntyng off 180 postes wyth white and grene and in oyle every post conteynyng 2½ yerdes deyppe at 16*d.* the yerde, standyng in the Kynges new garden—£32 6*s.* 8*d.*

2. Also for lyke payntyng of 96 pouncheones wyth white and grene, and in oyle, wrought wyth fyne antyke uppon both the sydes beryng up the rayles in the sayd Garden—£4 16*s.* 10*d.*

3. Also for lyke payntyng of 960 yerdes in leyngthe of Rayle.

III. *King's Beasts at the Mount.*

Also payd to Mych. of Hayles, kerver, for couttyng, makyng and karvyng of 16 of the Kynges and the Quenys beestes in tymber, standyng abowght the Mownte in the Kynges new garden, the Kyng fyndyng stuff thereto, at 20*s.* the pece by convencyon—£16.

IV. *Dials.*

To Bryce Augustyne, of Westmyster, clokemaker, for makyng of 16 brasin dyalles servyng for the Kynges new garden at 4*s.* 4*d.* the pece.

V. *Trees.*

1. 200 young treys of oke and elme, five score to every hundryth, at 12*s.* 6*d.* the hundryth, to sett in the Kynges Great Orchard.
2. Appultres and Pere-trees for the Kynges new Orchard at 6*d.* the pece; 5 Servys treys at 14*d.* the pece; 4 holyff treys (holly) at 3*d.* the pece.
3. Payd to John Bereman of Dytton, for 3 peretreys to sett in the Mounte within the Kynges New Garden at 11*d.* the pece. (Anno 1535.)
4. "Quycksetts" for the Tryangell at the Mount.
5. Small sets of woodbyne and thorne, at 5*d.* the hundrythe.
6. Treys of Yow, Sypers, Genaper, and Bayes at 2*d.* the pece.
7. 600 chery trees at 6*d.* the hundred.

VI. *Flowers.*

1. 100 roses at 4*d.* the hundred.
2. Violettes and Primroses for the Kynges new garden.
3. Gilliver-slips, mynts and other sweet flowers.
4. Sweetwilliams at 3*d.* the bushell.

VII. *Gardeners and Workers.*

1. Weders in the Kynges New Garden and the Mount 3*d.* a day.
2. Item to John Hutton, of London, gardener, for a bourder of rosemary of 3 yeres olde, to set about the Mount in the Kynges New Garden, 2*s.* 6*d.*
3. Payd to Ales Brewer and Margaret Rogers, for gatheryng of 34 bushells of strawberry rot, primrose, and violettes at 3*d.* the bushell.
4. Item to Matthew Garrett of Kyngston, for settyng of the said rot and flowers, by the space of 20 days, at 3*d.* the daye.
5. Common Labourers digging of earth and levelling in the King's new garden.
6. Women weding in the Kynges New Garden and at the Mount at 2*d.* the day.
7. Watering of the flowers at like price.

APPENDIX I.

"Lodginges in Hampton Courte used to be appointed by the Gentleman-Usher" (about the year 1540).—*Cotton MSS., Vesp. C.* xiv. 30 (90).—*Ceremoniæ aulæ Regis.*

(See pages 46, 90, 109, 186, and 201.)

In the Inner Courte beside the Chappell.

The Prince's Lodginge.

Att the Lower Ende of that double lodginge where the Councell-chamber was wont to be.

Underneathe the Prince's chamber a faire dooble lodginge.

Under his bed chamber a faire dooble lodginge.

Behind the Tennys-plaie 5 dooble lodginges where the ladies of the privie chamber laye.

Vnder the Counsell-Chamber a double lodginge.

Yn the Second Courte.

Att the King's stayer-foote two faire dooble lodginges.

Next to them ij double lodginges. { Mr. Hennage. / Mr. Dennye.

Nexte M^r^ Dennye a dooble lodging, whereas the maydes lye.

Up the same stayer one dooble lodginge.

Att the stayer foote 1 dooble lodging. { My / Ladie / Margarete.

Over that a faire dooble lodging. { My ladie / Marie's grace.

Next to that a dooble lodginge. { The M^r^ of the / Horse.

Next that a faire dooble lodginge. { My lorde greate Master.

Over the gate in the Inner Courte a faire double Lodginge. { Lo. priuie seale.

In the Utter Courte.

(See page 46.)

In the gallerie on the right hand one double lodginge.
In the same gallerie another double lodginge.
In the same gallerie another double lodging.
In the same gallerie one single lodginge.
In the same gallerie another single lodginge.
In the same gallerie another single lodginge.

Att the ende of the gallorie j double lodginge. { M^r^ Awen.

Up the stayer over the gate j double lodginge. { M^r^ Treasurer.

Over M^r^ Treasurer's lodginge on the same side ij double lodgings.
Underneathe the same gallorie on the right hand one double Lodginge.
In the same lowe gallerie another double lodginge.
In the same lowe gallarie another double lodginge.
In the same lowe gallarie another double lodginge.
In the same lowe gallarie another single lodginge.
In the same lowe gallorie another single lodging.

Att the staire heade on the left hand of the gate one double lodging. { M^r^ Cromer.

Over M^r^ Cromer's lodging ij double lodgings.
Underneathe ij wardrobes j double lodginge.
In the gallorie on the left hande one double lodging. M^r^ Paget.
In the same gallorie another double lodging. M^r^ Peter.
In the same gallorie another double lodginge.
In the same gallorie another double lodging.
In the same gallorie a single lodging.
Three single chambers where the groome porter, pitcher-house and poticarie lye.

In the Courte where M^r^ Comptroller lyeth 5 double lodginges wherein lyeth M^r^ Comptroller, M^r^ Cofferer, iiij M^rs^ of householde, Clerkes of the Greneclothe.

Besides in the same courte.

The Spicerie.	Counting House.
Jewell House.	Chawndrie.
Scoollerie.	Confectionarie.

Over against the Dresser a dooble chamber M^r^ Clerke of the Kitchin lyeth.

Over him 5 single lodginges where lyeth the Queene's Groomporters, ij surgions, and the Wafrie (?)

In the Towers withoute the gate 10 lodginges.

THE END.

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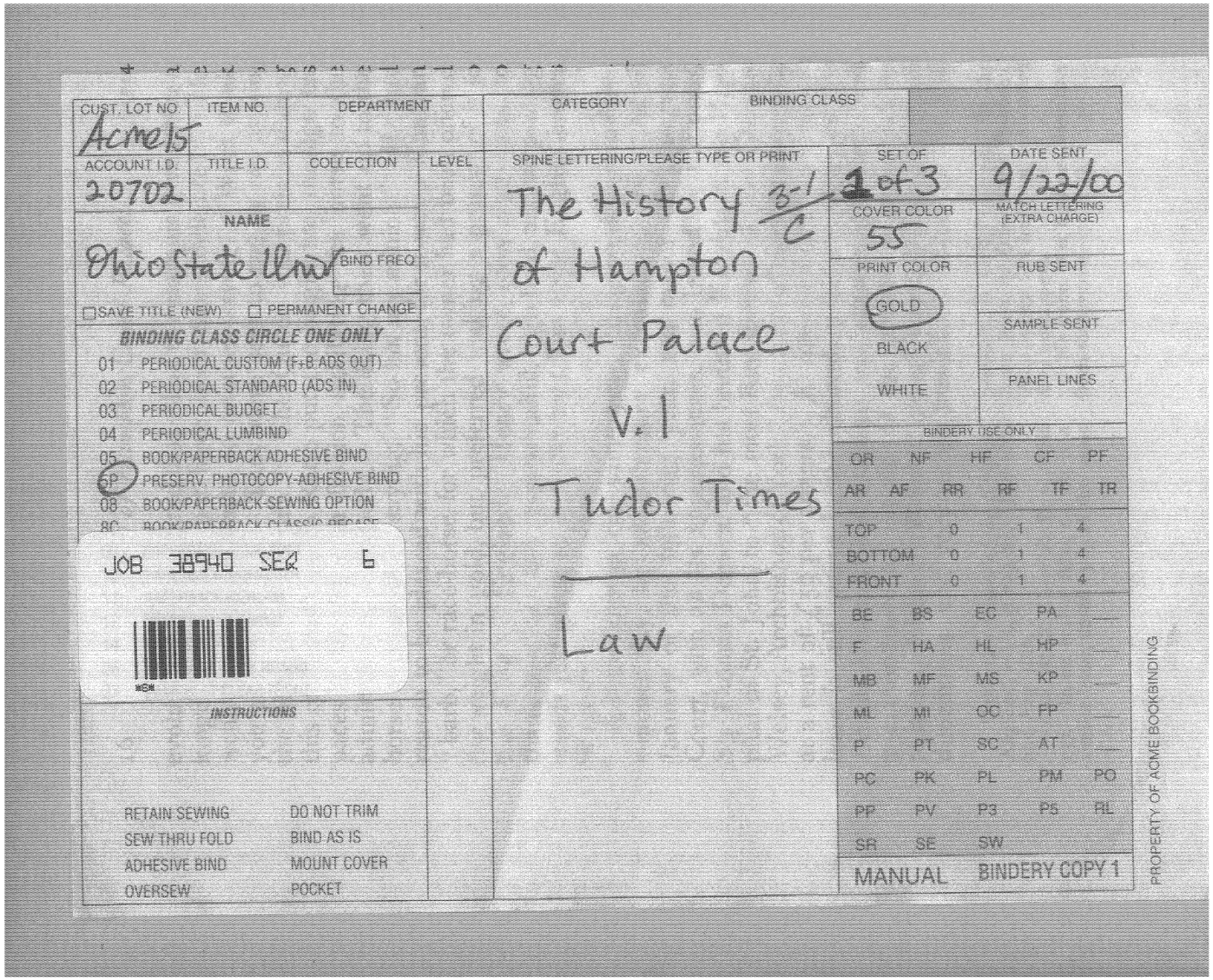
We may observe here that long before the place was acquired by Wolsey it was known by the name of "Hampton Court;" and it is therefore incorrect to suppose, as did Norden, the topographer, in Queen Elizabeth's time, and as persons occasionally do now, that "the word Court is hereunto added in regard of the majestie and princely bewtie thereof, fit for none but for a King or Queene, whose residence in any place draweth a Princely assembly."[1] The word, in truth, has the same origin and meaning as in the names Ember Court, Pendle Court, Sayes Court, App's Court, and signifies, in distinction to the whole manor, that portion of it which was retained by the lord of the manor for his own use, and called the demesne lands, and in which was situated the manor-house or capital mansion of the manor. In the case of Hampton, as fully a half of the whole area of the manor consisted of demesne land, it was not unnatural that the name of so important a part should come to be applied to the remaining and dependent portion as well, so that we accordingly find the whole manor of Hampton henceforth usually called the "Manor of Hampton Court."

The next date in the history of Hampton Court is 1514, on the 20th of March of which year, Henry visited the manor in company with Katharine of Arragon, perhaps with the object of inspecting the property which his minister, Wolsey, was about to acquire.[2] The occasion is commemorated in a despatch,[3] preserved among the Venetian archives, from one Giovanni Ratto to the Marquis of Mantua. Ratto had been commissioned by the marquis to present the King with some magnificent horses, and he took the opportunity of this visit to do so. Henry, who was a keen horseman, viewed with unrestrained delight their splendid action and

[1] *Speculum Britanniæ*, p. 25.

[2] The term of Wolsey's tenancy began on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, June 24th, 1514. See Appendix B.

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. ii., No. 385.



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